AHP 54

TRANSITIONS বন্তুম মর্ভ্রমগ্র

বহুম'ব্বুব্রম'শ্পুব্রমা 'Jam dbyangs skyabs

TRANSITIONS

AHP 54

্রহম'হ্মহম'স্ক্রম্ম 'Jam dbyangs skyabs

ASIAN HIGHLANDS PERSPECTIVES 54

TRANSITIONS



by

বেছ্ম'ব্রুদ্রমা Jam dbyangs skyabs

E-MAIL: ahpjournal@gmail.com

HARD COPY: www.lulu.com/asianhp

ONLINE: https://archive.org/details/asianhighlandsperspectives

ISSN (print): 1835-7741

ISSN (electronic): 1925-6329

Library of Congress Control Number: 2008944256

CALL NUMBER: DS1.A4739

SUBJECTS: Uplands-Asia-Periodicals, Tibet, Plateau of-Periodicals

All artwork contained herein is subject to a Creative Commons, Attribution-NonCommercial 3.0 Unported License. You are free to quote, copy, and distribute these works for non-commercial purposes so long as appropriate attribution is given. See https://goo.gl/nqo6vg for more information.

FRONT COVER: Don skyid ব্ৰ্ণ্ট্ৰা (2017; my home in Gcig sgril ব্ৰণ্ট্ৰা County Town, Mgo log আৰ্ আৰু বা Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Mtsho sngon আৰ্ট্ৰ্ৰ্ Province, PR China; 'Jam dbyangs skyabs অনুমান্ত্ৰমান

BACK COVER: "Transitions" by 'Jam dbyangs skyabs ব্রুষ্ণ মূল্য

COVER DESIGN: Mgon po bstan মার্নীর মান্ত্র

CITATION: 'Jam dbyangs skyabs অহ্ম'ব্যুক্ম'রুক্ম' 2019. Transitions অনুক্রের্কামা. Asian Highlands
Perspectives 54. https://archive.org/details/AHP54Transitions

ASIAN HIGHLANDS PERSPECTIVES

Asian Highlands Perspectives (AHP) is a trans-disciplinary journal focusing on the Tibetan Plateau and surrounding regions, including the Southeast Asian Massif, Himalayan Massif, the Extended Eastern Himalayas, the Mongolian Plateau, and other contiguous areas. Cross-regional commonalities in history, culture, language, and socio-political context invite investigations of an interdisciplinary nature not served by current academic forums. AHP contributes to the regional research agendas of Sinologists, Tibetologists, Mongolists, and South and Southeast Asianists, while also forwarding theoretical discourse on grounded theory, interdisciplinary studies, and collaborative scholarship.

AHP publishes occasional monographs and essay collections both in hardcopy (ISSN 1835-7741) and online (ISSN 1925-6329). The online version is an open-access source, freely available at https://bit.ly/2SOtjtE. The print edition is available to libraries and individuals at-cost through POD publisher Lulu.com at https://goo.gl/rIT9lI. The journal currently has a core editorial team of three members and a consultative editorial board of experts from a variety of disciplines. All submissions to the journal are peer-reviewed by the editorial board and independent, anonymous assessors.

AHP welcomes submissions from a wide range of scholars with an interest in the area. Given the dearth of current knowledge on this culturally complex area, we encourage submissions that contain descriptive accounts of local realities - especially by authors from communities in the Asian Highlands - as well as theory-oriented articles. We publish items of irregular format - long articles, short monographs, photo essays, fiction, auto-ethnography, etc. Authors receive a PDF version of their published work. Potential contributors are encouraged to consult previous issues.

EDITORS: CK Stuart, Tshe dbang rdo rje के नुन्द हैं हैं।, and Rin chen rdo rje देन के हैं हैं।

COPY EDITORS: Gaye Sargent, Gabriela Samcewicz, and Gtsang Phun dbang নুজন ধ্রু ব্রহণ

EDITORIAL BOARD

BARBARA BROWER Portland State University

Caihuan Duojie (Caihua Dorji; Tshe dpal rdo rje ক্টান্নআই ইন্মার্ট ইন্মার্

DANIEL MILLER USAID

Duojie Zhaxi (Dorje Tashi, Rdo rje bkra shis, ই্ই ব্যাক্ত্রিয়া) University of Colorado

Fernanda Pirie University of Oxford

HILDEGARD DIEMBERGER University of Cambridge

Huadan Zhaxi (Dpal ldan bkra shis ব্ৰুব্ৰুব্ৰুব্ৰুব্ৰ্ৰু) Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

Jermay Jamsu ('Gyur med rgya mtsho ন্ত্ৰুহ'নাই' ক্লু'ৰাই') Independent Scholar

JUHA JANHUNEN University of Helsinki

KEITH DEDE Lewis and Clark College

KELSANG NORBU (Gesang Nuobu, Skal bzang nor bu শ্লুবাবরন ব্রুদ্রা) Independent Scholar

Kunchok Benzhou ('Bum phrug ব্রুষ্ম্বর্ণ) London School of Economics and Political Science

Lhamodrolma (Lha mo sgrol ma মুর্মার্ম্বর্মার)

Mark Bender Ohio State University

Nyangchakja (Snying leags rgyal ৡন্ত্ৰ্ব্যান্ত্ৰা) Independent Scholar

Renqingka (Rin chen mkhar בְּאַ־יִבּאָק־אַן University of Massachusetts, Amherst

RIGDROL GOLOK (Rouzhuo; Rig grol ইন্যর্শ্রম্য) Victoria University, Australia

Shamo Thar (Sha mo thar প্র্রান্থন্) University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Toni Huber Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

Tsering Bum (Cairangben, Tshe ring 'bum ক্ল'ইন্বের্ষা) Emory University

VERONIKA ZIKMUNDOVA Charles University

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank *AHP* Editors, Khashem Gyal শ্রেষ্ট্রশ্র, Mgon po bstan মর্ন্ট্র্ন্ট্র্ন্, Phyogs las rnam rgyal ইন্ট্র্ন্ট্র্ন্ট্র্ন্, Tshe ring mgon po ঠেইন্মের্ন্ট্রন্ট্রন্ট্র্ন্ট্র্ন্ট্র



CONTENTS

- 5 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
- 6 CONTENTS
- 7 PREFACE
- 10 Introduction
- 27 PART ONE: MGO LOG & RNGA BA
- 28 SELF-PORTRAITS
- 36 CHILDREN
- 52 ELDERS
- 58 Culture & Life
- 73 ARCHITECTURE
- 80 ANIMALS
- 86 PART TWO: XI'AN CITY
- 87 PEOPLE & LIFE
- 202 ANIMALS
- 210 ARCHITECTURE
- 218 STREETS
- 230 FLOWERS
- 232 CAPTIONS
- 264 TIBETAN TERMS
- 265 CHINESE TERMS

The photographer, 'Jam dbyangs skyabs, is from a pastoral community in Mgo log Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, a northeastern Tibetan region. He was born one chilly winter morning into a traditional Tibetan herding family who have had a life herding yaks, horses, and sheep, seasonally migrating to different grazing lands, looking for better pasture and water resources.

Pursuing further education, 'Jam dbyangs skyabs embarked on a journey that led him, at the age of eighteen, to an unfamiliar but much anticipated "dream world," Xi'an, a metropolis with some nine million residents in Shaanxi Province. He thus left his homeland where he had spent his childhood and most of his adolescence.

After some months of living in the city, 'Jam dbyangs skyabs found a tool - photography - that helped him explore the world around him. He then began travelling between two different worlds - his rapidly changing traditional world and a huge Chinese city also in flux. Old people, children, workers, cleaners, beggars, and animals all became subjects of attention.

'Jam dbyangs skyabs interprets photographs he has taken in his home community (45) and in metropolitan Xi'an (147) through his memory of life on the grassland, the space, and the personalities where he was reared. The images invoke an immense nostalgia for his past while contemplating the rapidly changing world of his "home." He worries and questions the loss of traditions and the impact of modernity.

The city images depict the rugged hustle and bustle of streets full of restaurants, stores, hotels, and motorbike repair places. The lens focuses on the intimacies of the daily life of ordinary people as they earn livelihoods in narrow, neighborhood streets. Varied interactions are presented - people laugh, fight, and scold each other; and workers are forced to temporarily pause in their work because of the dense, unhealthy air pollution.

The photographer's dilemma arises in 'Jam dbyangs skyabs' images as he observes extreme differences in the worlds of the mega-city and of the precipitous alterations in his own grassland world. In eloquently commenting on his own bewilderment, the reader encounters a familiar quandary: how do we decode our past and what meaning does it have in our own, ever-changing eternal present?

ब्रेट नहें

या दिश्व अप्तर्थात्म अस्त्र स्त्र प्रत्ये प्रत

त्रभान् वर्षणाचा वर्षणाचा वर्षणाच्या क्षेत्र क्षेत्

प्राचाणियाः भूतः हो स्टाने स्

 $\frac{1}{2}$ स्क्रीय क्री शायश्वर्याच्या स्वयश्वराय त्वर्य क्री शायश्वराय स्वयः स्ययः स्वयः स्ययः स्वयः स्वयः

 $\frac{1}{2}\left\{\frac{1}{2}\left\{\frac{1}{2}\left\{\frac{1}{2}\left(\frac{1}\left(\frac{1}{2}\left(\frac{1}{2}\left(\frac{1}{2}\left(\frac{1}{2}\left(\frac{1}{2}\left(\frac{1}{2}\left(\frac{1}{2}\left(\frac{1}{2}\left(\frac{1}{2}\left(\frac{1}\left(\frac{1}{2}\left(\frac{1}{2}\left(\frac{1}{2}\left(\frac{1}\left(\frac{1}\left(\frac{1}\left(\frac{1}{2}\left(\frac{1}$

序言 翻译者 李晶洋

摄影师嘉阳杰来自中国青海省果洛藏族自治州的一个牧区。他一个冬天寒冷的早晨,降生在一个传统的藏族牧人家庭。 他们常免骑马、放牧并随着四季的更替, 迁徙在不同的草场生活。

为了能深入地接受教育,十八岁的他离开家乡,走向西安这座有着近900万人口的大城市。那既是一个陌生,也是他期待的"梦想世界"。

在城市生活了几个月之后,嘉阳杰发现了一种工具一摄影, 这让他以全新的方式观察周围的环境。然后,他开始在两个" 世界"之间旅行。一个是他家乡的传统世界,一个是巨大的中 国城市。虽然所处地域不同,但是都在随着社会的发展不断变 化。社会的方方面面,如:老人、孩子、工人、清洁工、乞丐, 甚至是植物、动物都成了关注的对象。

嘉阳杰通过他在家乡社区(45)和西安大都市(147)拍摄的照片。集中展示了他在藏区家乡和在西安的生活经历。这些图像不但引发了对他过去的怀念,同时使他开始思考他家乡发生的迅速变化。他担心传统文化是否会消失以及现代生活对传统文化的影响。

这些城市的照片展示了遍布着餐馆、商店、酒店和摩托车 修理场等场所的嘈杂街道,但摄影师的镜头更加侧重人与人之 间的关系和生活的场景。例如:在狭窄的社区街道中谋生的人、 人与人之间发生的各种各样的互动、人们的欢笑和争吵、因建 筑的密集和空气污染,工人被迫暂时停工的场景等等。

嘉阳杰的困境也出现在影像中,因为他观察到了大城市和他同样发生急剧变化的草原世界之间的巨大差异。在说出他自己的困惑时,也让读者思考一个相同的问题:我们如何解读我们的过去以及它在我们不断变化的现实生活中存在什么意义?

Introduction Figure 1

'Jam dbyangs skyabs ব্রুম ন্রুম মানুর্ম সুরম ্রুম Xi'an City বিশাপের র্ন্ত্রম বিজ্ঞান বিশ্ব মানুর্ম বিজ্ঞান বিশ্ব মানুর্ম মানুর্ম মানুর্ম বিজ্ঞান বিশ্ব মানুর্ম মানুর

I was born in 1995 about one month before Lo sar 'Tibetan New Year' in my family's first adobe house which, at that time, was in our winter pasture. I am Mother's (Don skyid, b. 1947) eleventh and youngest child. My birth place is Khang sar (Kangsai) Township, Gcig sgril (Jiuzhi) County, Mgo log (Guoluo) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Mtsho sngon (Qinghai) Province, China.

चर्त्र-वि-के-क्ट-ह्व-क्र-बुच-क्र-बिच-लुच।

चर्त्र-वि-के-क्ट-ह्व-क्र-बुच-क्र-बुच-क्र-च-लुच-क्र-बुच-क्र-बुच-क्र-बुच-क्र-बुच-क्र-च-ह्न-बुच-क्र-बुच-क् क्र-क्र-क्र-कुच-क्र-बुच-क्

Mother doesn't remember the specific date of any of her children's births: "I didn't pay attention to the exact birthdate of my children. Nobody asked me, and they and I don't care, but I do have a general idea of the season, and the year."

च्चर-८-पीच-कूँच-८-तृत्व्यः वृपा-क्ष्यः भूभः वृपा-व्या-क्ष्यः भूभः वृपा-वृपा-क्ष्यः प्राप्ति वृप्तः वृपा-क्ष्यः वृपा-क्षयः वृपा-क्ष्यः वृपा-क्ष्यः वृपा-क्ष्यः वृपा-क्ष्यः वृपा-क्ष्यः वृपा-क्षयः वृपा-क्ष्यः वृपा-क्षयः वृपा-क्षयः वृपा-क्षयः वृपा-क्षयः वृपा-क्षयः वृपा-कष्यः विपा-कष्यः विपा-कष्यः वृपा-कष्यः विपा-कष्यः विप

Before living in that adobe house, my family had only lived in black yak-hair tents where all my other siblings had been born. On the chilly and snowy winter morning of the day of my birth, Father (Bsod dar, 1943-2016) moved our yaks, horses, and sheep to another pasture where there was more grass. Knowing Mother would give birth soon, he took his other children with him, along with the family tents that they would live in at the camp. Mother thus gave birth with only Father's cousin present.

Father was born in a pastoral area in Smin thang Township, Gcig sgril County and became a monk when he was around eight years old. He later became a layman. He had three elder siblings - one brother (Mying li) and two sisters ('Od skyid and Bsod mtsho). Mying li had two children (Rig kho and TA re sgron). 'Od skyid, married Gdugs dkar. They had no children so Father gave them his second child, Ku mu ta, who passed away when she was two years old at their home. Bsod mtsho married twice. She gave birth when she was living with her first husband (Bkra dbang) and then divorced. She then married Mchog bzang. They later divorced. Both of her husbands were from Rnga ba.

श्चर्यश्चरात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र श्चर्यात्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्यात्यात्यात्र्यात्र्यात्यात्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्यात्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्रत्यात्या

Father had two half-siblings — a sister and a brother. They shared the same father. His half-sister ('Jam skyid) married Ma chen, a cook who came from Lha sa and, during a time of social chaos, was unable to return to Lha sa. They had two children (Tshe dbang skyid and Pan ril skyid) who have a number of children. Father's half-brother, Thub mchog, married Dbo skyid and they had ten children.

Father herded livestock until 1995 and then my family established our second adobe house at Mtha' ba (an area where monks' families and local families live near a monastery). He moved there and began regular circumambulation of sites related to the monastery, prostrations, and chanting scriptures. He was very devout, held *bla ma* and monks in high esteem, and urged us to respect religion.

We rebuilt this house in 2012.

Mother said, "We initially planned to build our second house at Stag lung Monastery because it would have been convenient for my oldest monk-son, Phyogs las rnam rgyal (b. 1971). Eventually, we didn't build there because during an annual monastery ritual (*dbyar gnas* 'summer residence') women cannot enter the monastery so it would have been inconvenient if I had lived there."

Father shared his experiences, some of which I will always treasure, for example, he told me, "When we moved our camp to a different pasture, I helped my sisters." Mother supported the truth of this, saying, "Your father was really kind to his sisters."

$$\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1$$

Mother was born in 'Bring mda', Sog ru ma Township. She had an older brother, Rab brtan (1945-2002). She also has two younger sisters (Mtshams ras, b. 1950 and Pad sgron, b. 1957) and a younger brother (Phur ba, b. 1954). Mother married Father when she was nineteen years old and moved to his family's home in Khang sar Township. Mother said:

I first met your father in a black yak-hair tent when I was nineteen (1966) and he was twenty-two. Your father's cousin, 'Phrin las rgya mtsho, and my brother, Rab brtan, engaged us. We did not meet before we married. We had our own tent and I brought a female yak and a calf from my home. My husband also had a female yak and a calf. That was all the livestock we had. We were very poor but we worked hard. My husband was a shepherd for the local government and received a reward, which was a picture of Mao Zedong (1893-1976).

क्षें क्ष्याची केन्द्र महिन्द्र स्वाप्त क्षेत्र क्षित्र ची क्षा स्वाप्त क्षेत्र मालुन त्या स्वाप्त क्षेत्र स्व र १९६३ १९८३ १९८३ १९८३ (९.६) ची व्हर सम्बोग न्याय ह्या का स्वाप्त क्षेत्र स्वाप्त क्षेत्र स्वाप्त क्षेत्र स्वाप

Today, Mother often reminds me not to drink, smoke, cheat others, or steal. When I was about seven, she said, "I promised the Pan chen Bla ma (1938-1989) when you were not yet born that you would not smoke, drink, or kill small animals."

In 1995, Mother moved to Mtha' ba from the herding area in winter, but in other seasons, she stayed mostly in the herding camps. In spring 2007, she moved to Mtha' ba to stay more permanently. She brought a female yak and a calf so she and Father could have milk and milk tea every day. She spent her time there as Father did, mostly engaged in religious activities. Mother continues to urge her children to respect religion, which for her, is everything.

१८८५वॅर क्रांचित्र स्वेत् प्रेंत्र प्राप्त प्राप्त क्रांचित्र स्वापिक स्वाप्त क्रांचित्र स्वाप्त क्रांचित्र स्व इंका प्रमुख्य क्रिया स्वाप्त स्वाप्त क्रिया स्वाप्त क्रिया स्वाप्त क्रिया स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त क्रिय इंका प्रमुख्य क्रिया स्वाप्त क्रिया स्वाप्त क्रिया स्वाप्त क्रिया स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्व इंका स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त क्रिया स्वाप्त क्रिया स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्व Photo One. My third older brother, Tshe ring mgon po (b. 1975), with our parents at Sku 'bum (Kumbum, Ta'er Monastery, Huangzhong County, Zi ling (Xining) City, Mtsho sngon Province, China (16 October 2014, 'Jam dbyangs skyabs).

सर प्राम् अमें के देर अर्गेत में १००० प्राप्त में १०० प्रा





Photo Two. 'Jam dbyangs skyabs (b. 1995) near Khang sar stag lung Monastery, Khang sar Township, Gcig sgril County (2003, Tshe ring mgon po).

When I was seven years old, my family built a house near the monastery but neither Father nor I could communicate with the carpenter who was from Chengdu.

स्ति । ने देशास्त्राच्यात्र्यम् । स्त्राच्यात्र्यम् । स्त्राच्यात्रम् । स्त्रम् । स्त्राच्यात्रम् । स्त्राच्यात्रम् । स्त्राच्यात्रम् । स्त्रम् । स्त्राच्यात्रम् । स्त्राच्यात्रम् । स्त्राच्यात्रम् । स्त्रम् । स्त्राच्यात्रम् । स्त्रम् । स्त्राच्यात्रम् । स्त्राच्यात्रम् । स्त्रम् । स्त

When I first attended the local primary school in 2003 my family sold all our sheep because they are not easy to herd. They need attention and protection from wolves, eagles, crows, and foxes during the day and at night. Mother said, "Foxes are smart. They first eat the tongues of lambs so they can't make sounds."

 $\frac{1}{2003} = \frac{1}{2003} = \frac{1$

We herded sheep, yaks, and horses. At that time, there were no fences. We spent much of our time with the livestock and worried about thieves and predators. Mother said, "We spent a lot of time on the mountains, telling stories and singing. When I was in my thirties, I sang several different types of songs such as *dmangs glu* and *glu shags*. We started singing at night and were not conscious of the time, just like today's children who play computer games in internet bars. Now I'm old and can't remember song lyrics."

When I was eight years old, I attended Khang sar Primary School. When I was in grade four in 2008,

I left Khang sar and enrolled in Rwa rgya (Lajia) Tibetan Vocational School. I graduated in 2013. A year later, I moved to Xi'an City. This was my first time to travel by train and visit a modern, very large Chinese city. I entered Xi'an International Studies University and majored in English. I graduated in 2016.

ल्लेच ता विश्वालय सुत्र अन् त्र्यूच क्रिन होता विश्वालय स्थान स्य

After first arriving in Xi'an, I felt that I was in a new world. I had imagined this world when I was in local primary school because I had seen some pictures of tall buildings and cars in textbooks. At that time, I didn't have the idea to take photographs.

After about two years, I started taking pictures of old people, children, workers, cleaners, and beggars. I can't explain my interest in these people, but I feel they are important. Somehow, they also remind me of my home community. I once met an old man in front of a hospital who couldn't easily communicate with the doctors and nurses because he spoke a Chinese dialect the hospital personnel could not easily understand.

I photograph what I'm interested in and I will continue to do it. I also take photographs of my home community, Rnga ba (Aba), and Rma chu (Maqu). The changes in my home community every six months that I record during my holidays are dramatic. These images are a record of the past and are valuable.

Nobody can take pictures of the past.

SIBLINGS न साम्भुत्र सकेन्

I have seven siblings, including four older brothers, of whom two are monks, and three older sisters. My oldest brother, a herdsman, has three daughters and one son. His daughters are older than I am.

Photo Three. Tshe brtan (b. 1968) is my oldest brother. He was born in Rdo ra can, a pastoral area in Gcig sgril County, twenty-five kilometers south of Gcig sgril County Town (Tshe ring mgon po's home in Gcig sgril County Town, 2017, Tshe ring mgon po).

যার বার্তি । বার্তি বার্ত্তি । বার্তি বার্তি করে বার্তি বিষয় বি



When he was around ten years old, he began herding sheep, yaks, and horses. He is a responsible herdsman and has taken care of our family since Father passed away. He never attended school, however, he can read and write Tibetan. I admire his courage and many abilities. When he was twenty-three, he married Rtse pe (b. 1966), a local woman. They have three daughters and one son (Ye shes bzang bo, b. 1996). Two of their daughters (Dpal ldan skyid, b. 1994 and G.yang phyug, b. 1995) began attending school when they were eight years old. Their oldest daughter (G.yang res, b. 1990) stayed at home to help her parents. She married a local man and has two sons (Byang chub rnam rgyal, b. 2010 and Gu ru skyabs b. 2013). Ye shes bzang bo went to Stag lung Monastery (Rnying ma Sect) to be a monk when he was six-years-old.

Photo Four. Phyogs las rnam rgyal (b. 1971) is my second older brother. He became a monk in 1982 at Stag lung Monastery. In 1996, he went to Bla rung sgar (Larong) where he studied for eight years. He returned to Stag lung Monastery in 2004 and established a school for young monks and taught them how to read and write, and also taught Tibetan calligraphy (my family's home in Gcig sgril County Town, 2018, Dpal ldan skyid).

र्ज्या मृत्या विषय विषय क्षेत्र क्

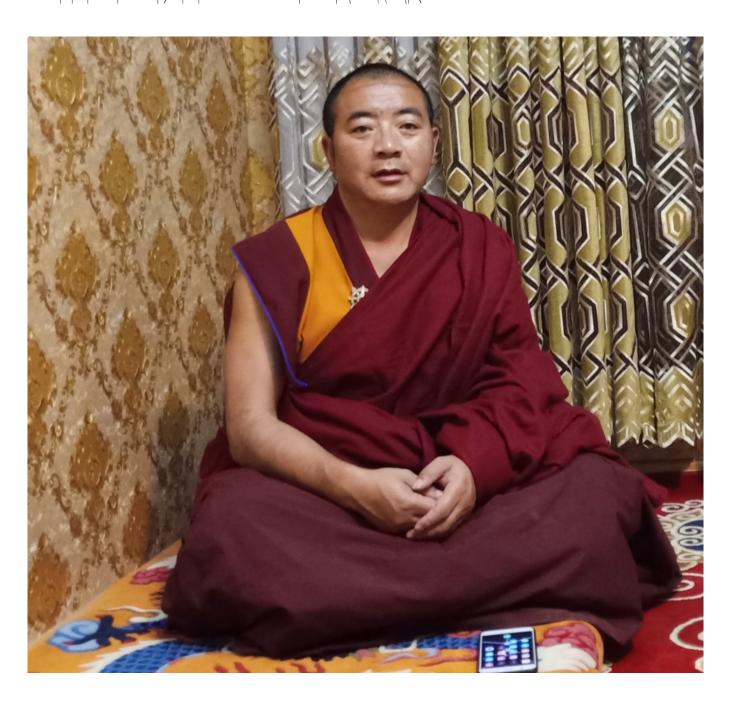
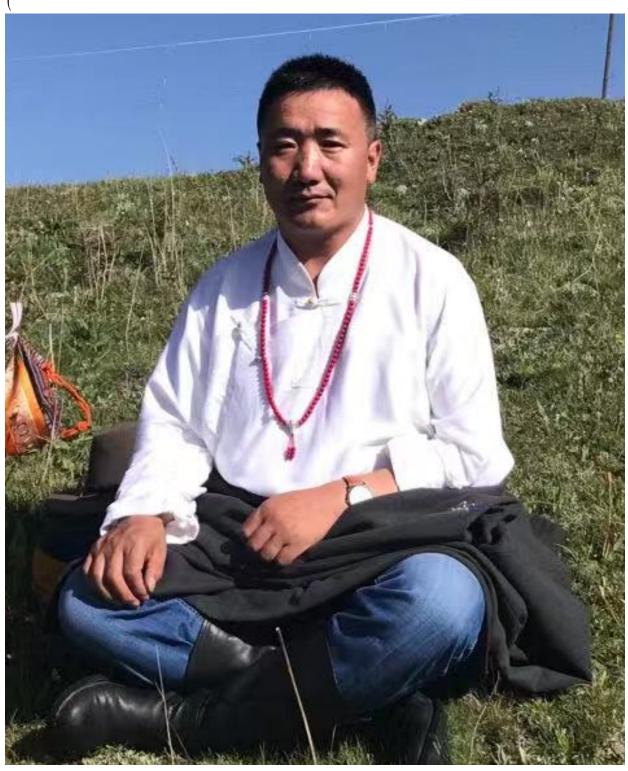


Photo Five. Lha dkar sgrol ma is my oldest sister (b. 1977). She did not attend school. She is deeply religious and has memorized various scriptures. She married a local man (Gzhon nu) when she was twenty-three. In 2018, she had five children. Sher rab chos 'phel (b. 2002) attended the local primary school when he was eight years old. When he was in grade three, he became a monk at Jo nang Monastery. The other four children (Dpal lha sgron, b. 2005); Sgrol dkar, b. 2008; Rin chen mtsho (b. 2010); Dkon mchog rgya mtsho, b. 2011) are enrolled in local schools (Winter Pasture, Rkyang 'bring Valley Khang sar Township, Gcig sgril County, 2019, Shes rab chos 'phel).



Photo Six. My third older brother, Tshe ring mgon po, was born in 1975 and attended Khang sar Primary School in 1987 (Gnyan sras Mountain near Gcig sgril County Town, 2017, 'Jam dbyangs skyabs).



After graduating from the Mgo lo Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture Teachers School in 1998, he was employed as a teacher. In 2000, Tshe ring mgon po married Sher rab sgrol ma, who is a doctor in Gcig sgril County Town. They have one child, Sher rab rnam rgyal (b. 2007), who began to attend local primary school when he was six. In 2002, Tshe ring mgon po attended Mtsho sngon Normal University for two years. After graduation, he worked at the Gcig sgril Culture and Education Bureau for four years. In 2008, he went to Sog ru ma Township to work as a deputy township head. In 2012, he moved to Dpal yul Township where he worked in the local government for two years. Since 2014, he has worked as the administrative chief of Bar bzhi Township.

लितालीताक्क्, देत्वभाविकान्त्री, इव्हुंस् वर्ग्ड्याक्क्, वर्ण्ड्याक्क, वर्ण्ड्याक्ष्म, वर्ण्ड्याक्ष, वर्ण्ड्याक्ष्म, वर्ण्ड्याक्ष्म, वर्ण्ड्याक्ष्म, वर्ण्ड्याक्ष, वर्ण्याक्ष, वर्ण्ड्याक्ष, वर्ण्ड्याक्ष, वर्ण्याक्ष, वर्ण्याक्य, वर्ण्याक्ष, वर्ण्याक्ष, वर्ण्याक्य, वर्ण्याक्य, वर्ण्

Photo Seven. Sher rab rnam rgyal (my family's home in Gcig sgril County Town, 2017, Tshe ring mgon po).



Photo Eight. 'Jigs med sgrol mo (b. 1981) is my second older sister. She married a local man when she was sixteen. She has two daughters (Lha lcam mtsho, b. 2001 and Lha las mtsho, b. 2009) and one son (Bkra shis, b. 2005). She is illiterate (Tshe ring mgon po's home in Gcig sgril County Town, 2016, Tshe ring mgon po).



Photo Nine. Snang gsal rgya mtsho (b. 1987) is my fourth older brother. In 1999, he became a monk at Stag lung Monastery. He studied Tibetan and scripture chanting for four years in the monastery and with our father. When he was sixteen, he began to participate in local ritual performances such as Ge sar (Stag lung Monastery, ~2014, unidentified photographer).

च्या प्राप्त क्षेत्र विश्व क्षेत्र विश्व क्षेत्र क



Photo Ten. Nor pe (b. 1989) is my third older sister. She attended Khang sar Primary School when she was eight years old, continued her education, and eventually graduated from Northwest Nationalities University, where she majored in medicine. She returned home after graduating and has a son, Sangs rgyas bzang bo (b. 2013), and a daughter, Byang chub sgrol ma (b. 2015) (Mtha' ba ~2017, unidentified photographer).



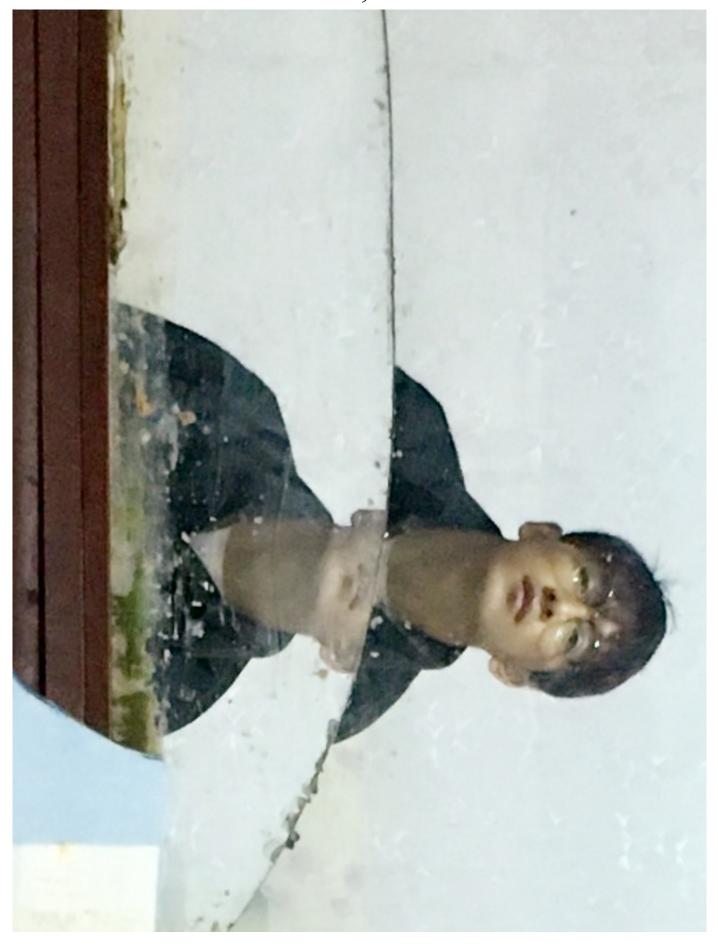
 $^{\cdot 26\cdot}$ Photo Eleven. Sangs rgyas bzang bo and Byang chub sgrol ma (Mtha' ba, ~2016, Tshe ring mgon po).

चर-वर्ड गुडेवा मा रिश्वरशः कुशः चल्ला सें प्रदश्च कुनः क्रुंवा आ अल्ला व १०१६ के देर अर्वेत सें रि



PART ONE MGO LOG & RNGA BA

SELF-PORTRAITS

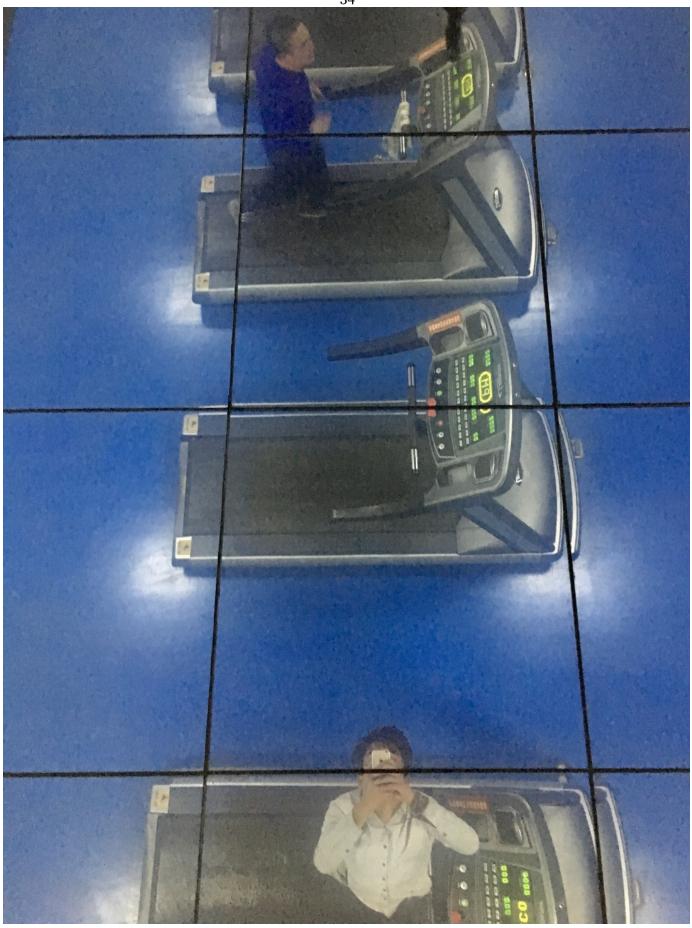


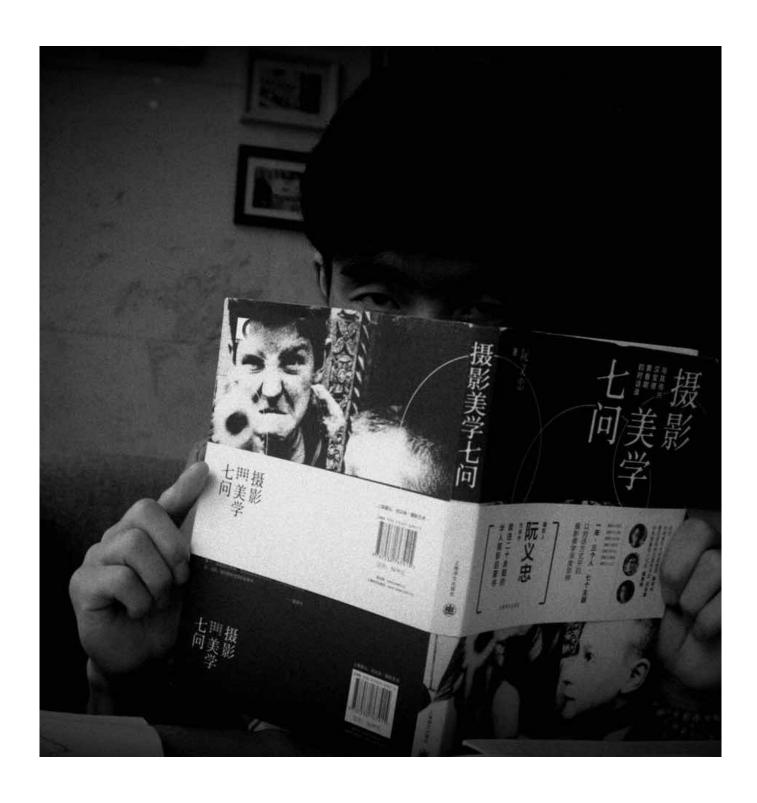




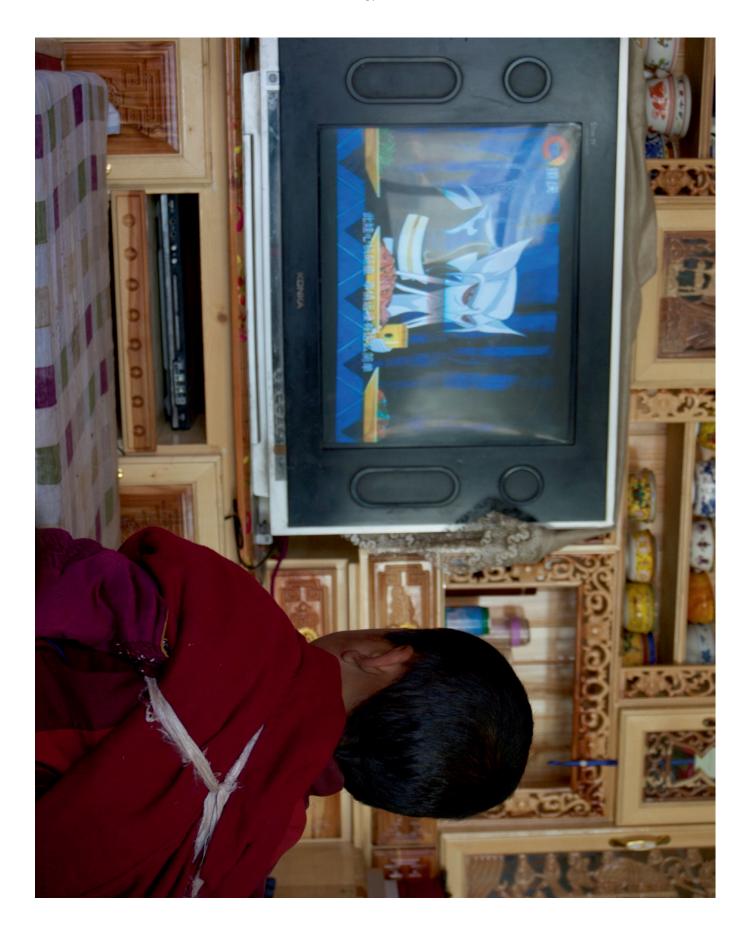








CHILDREN

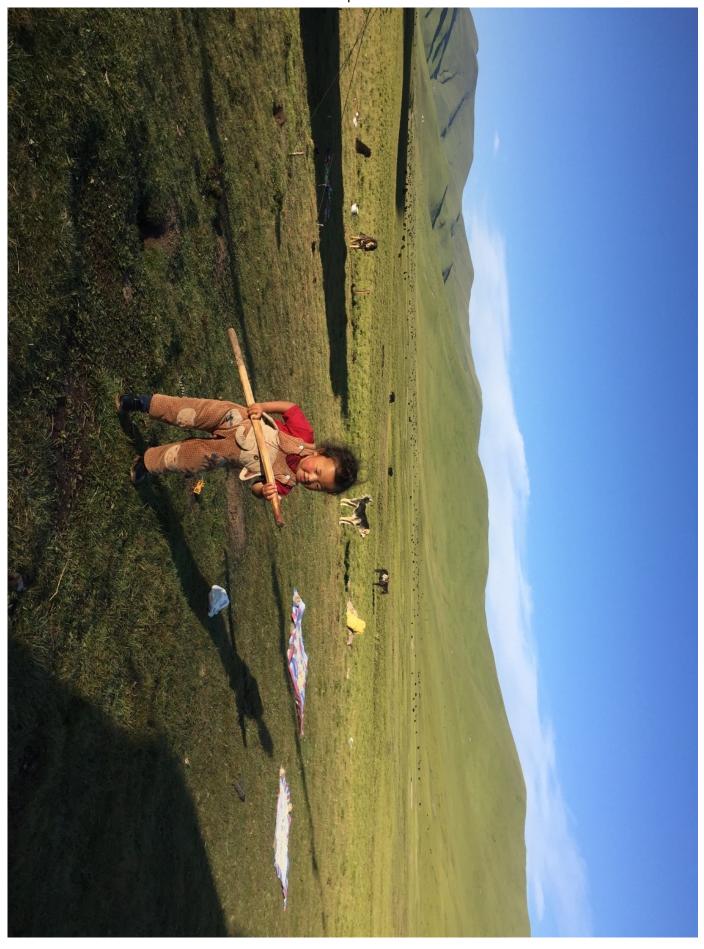




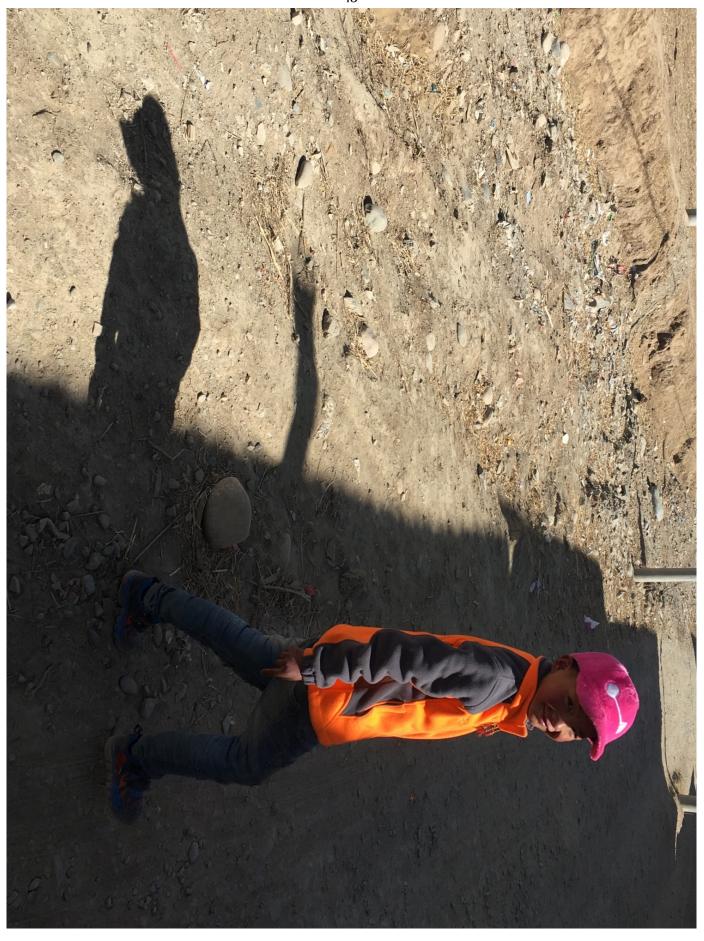


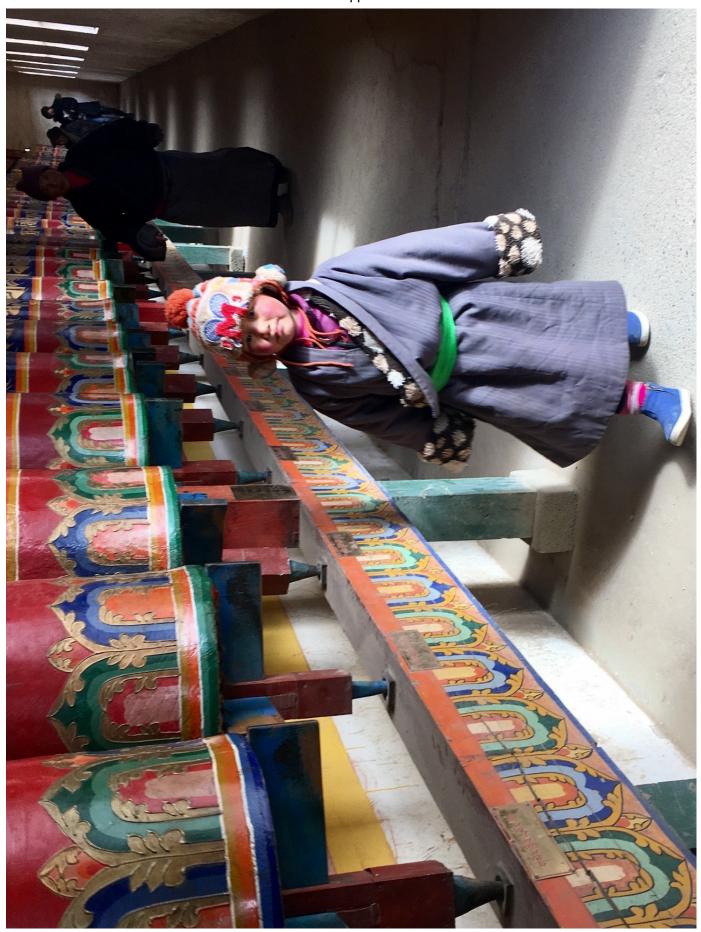


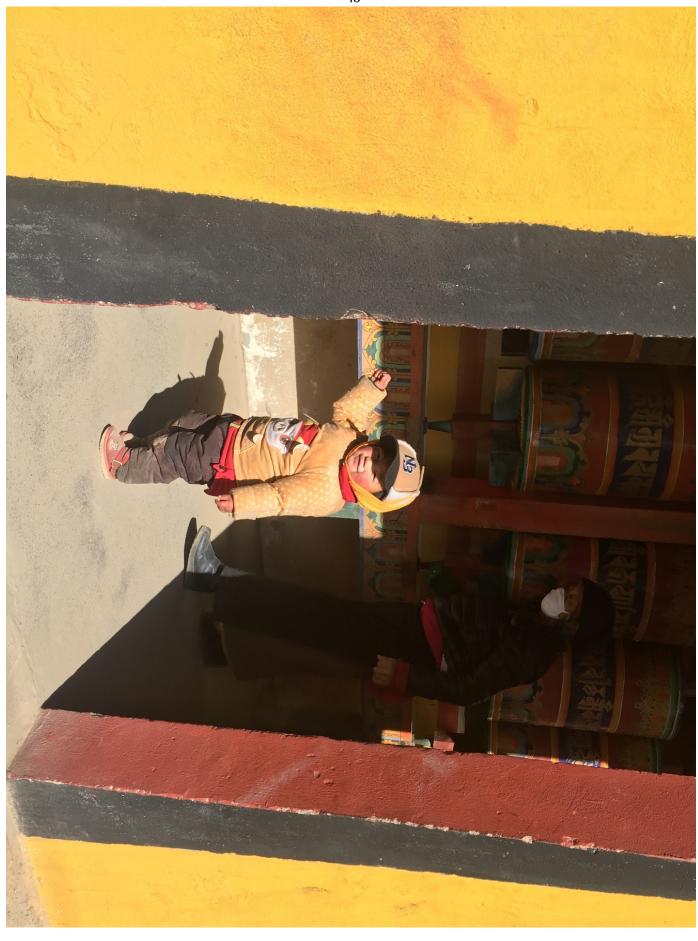
















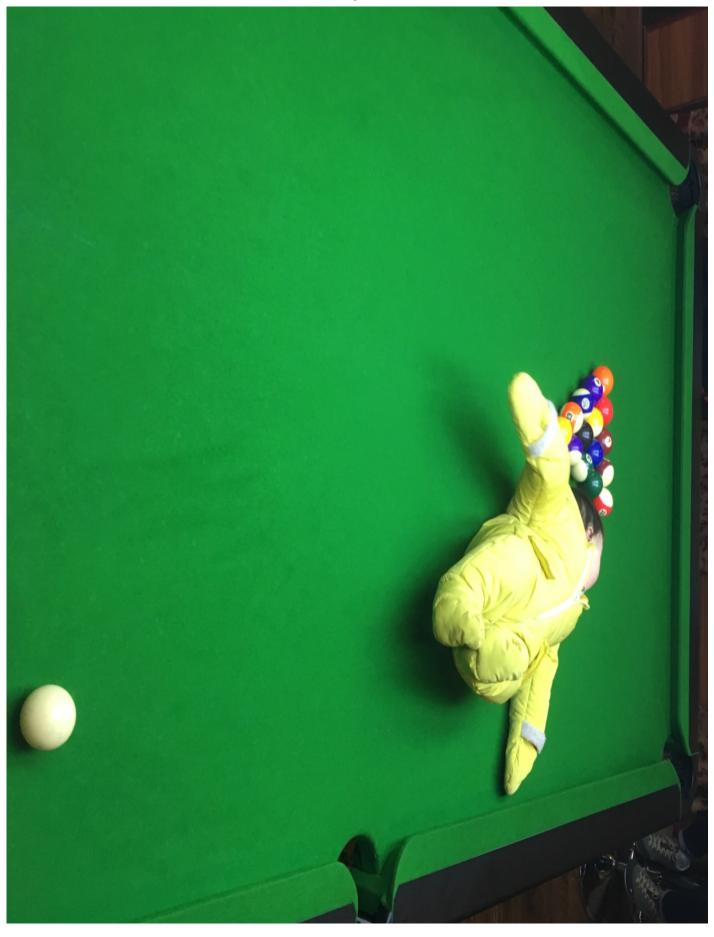




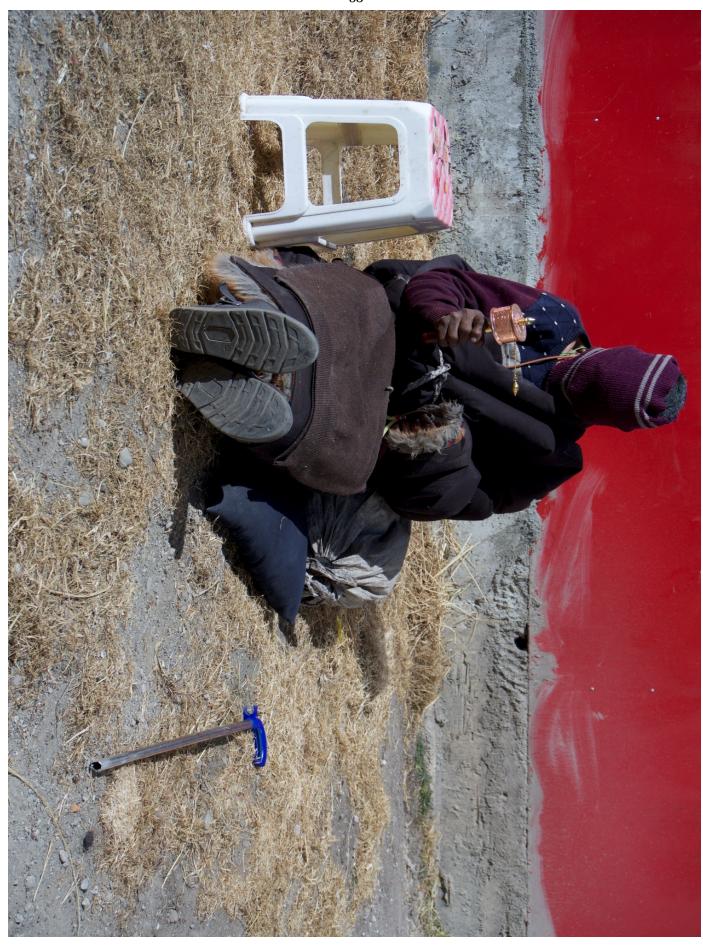








ELDERS





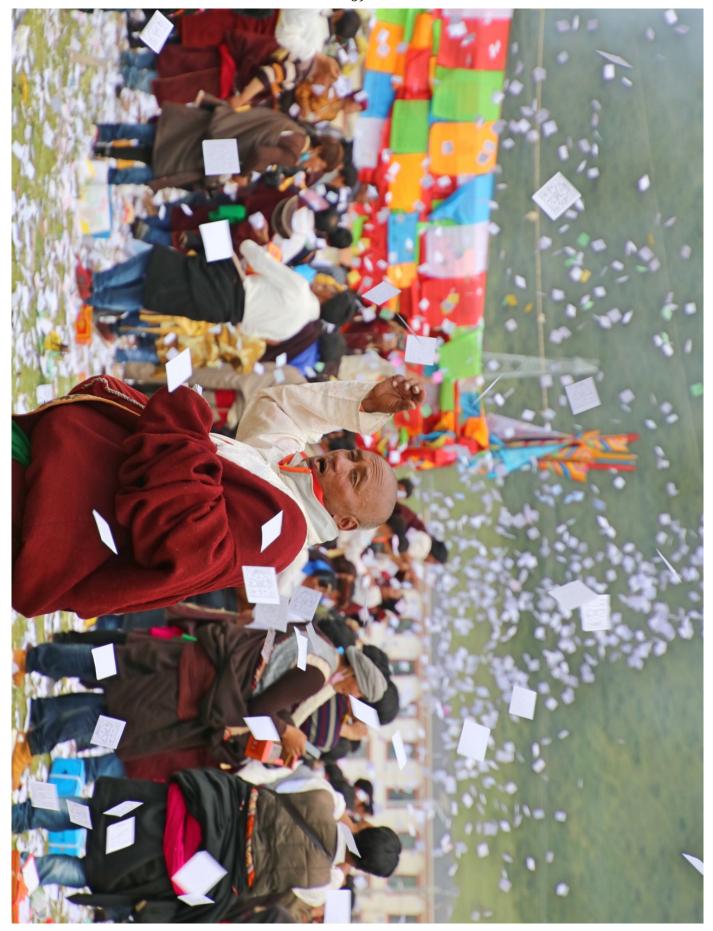




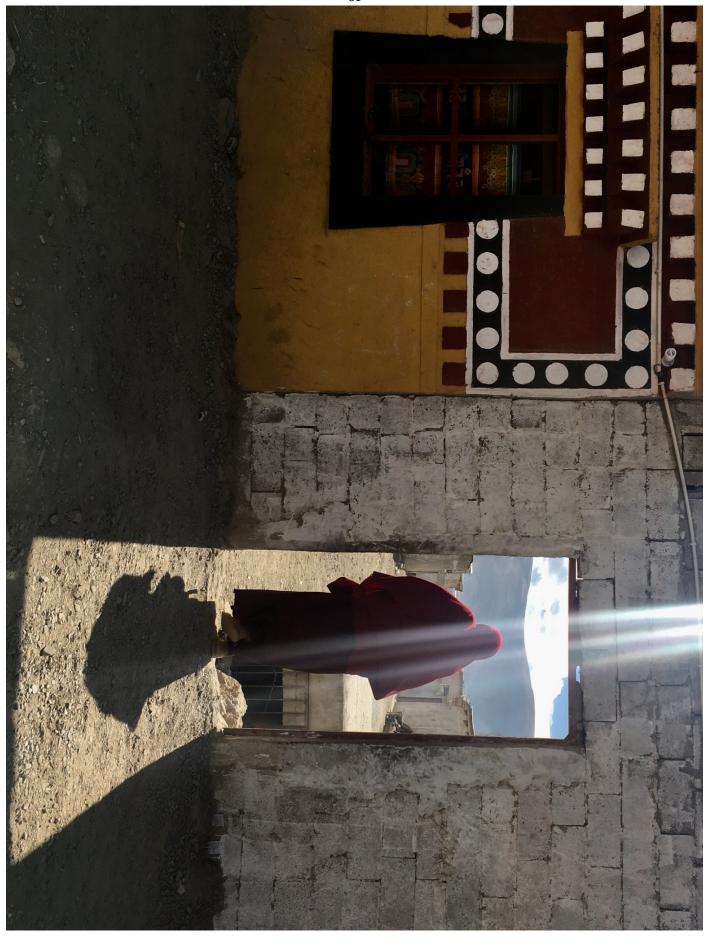




CULTURE & LIFE

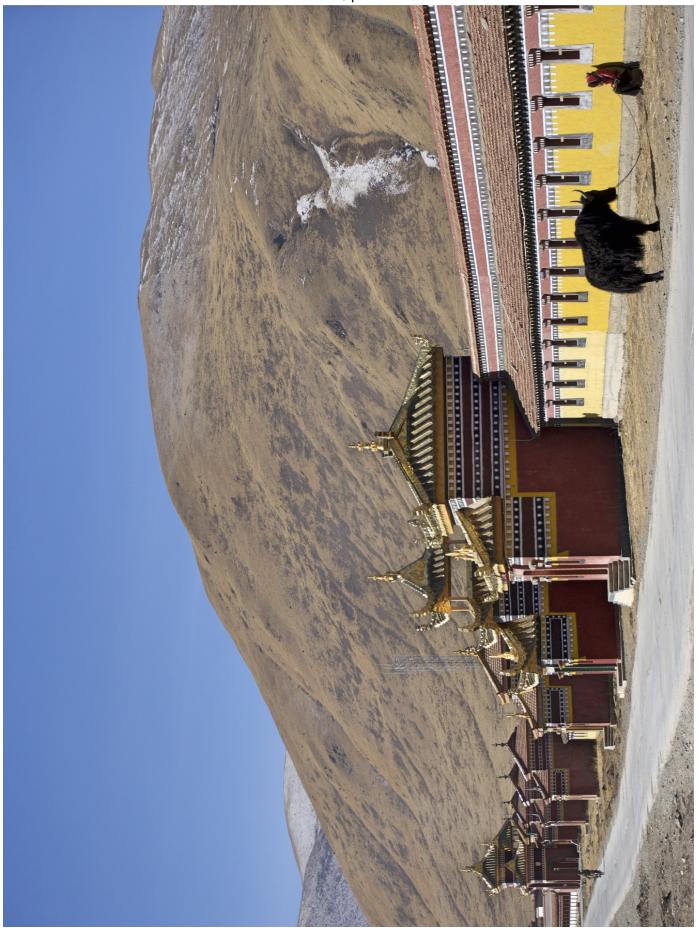














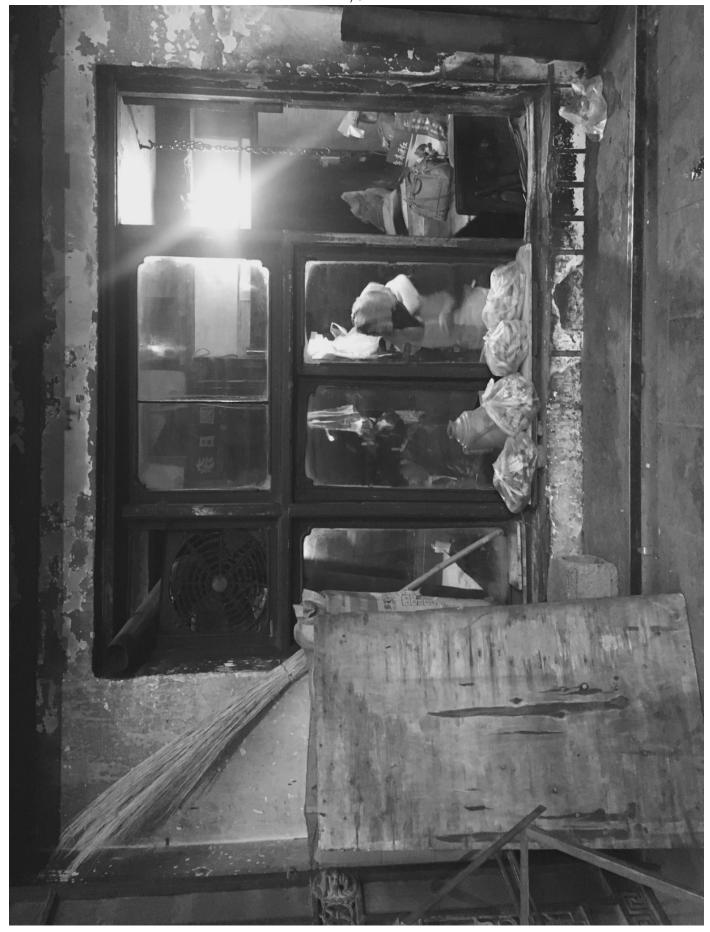








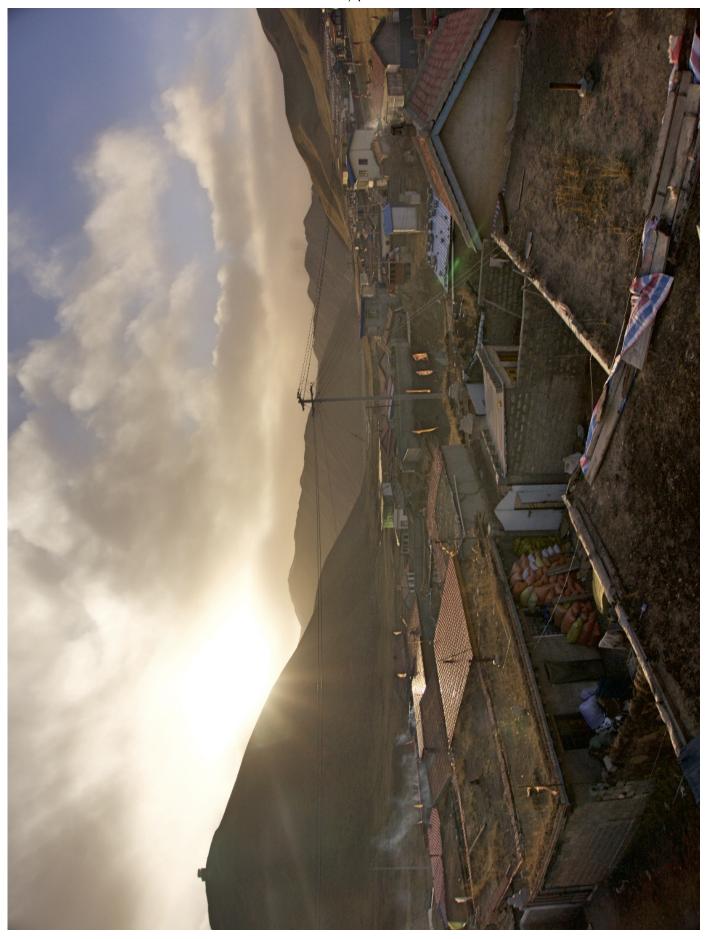








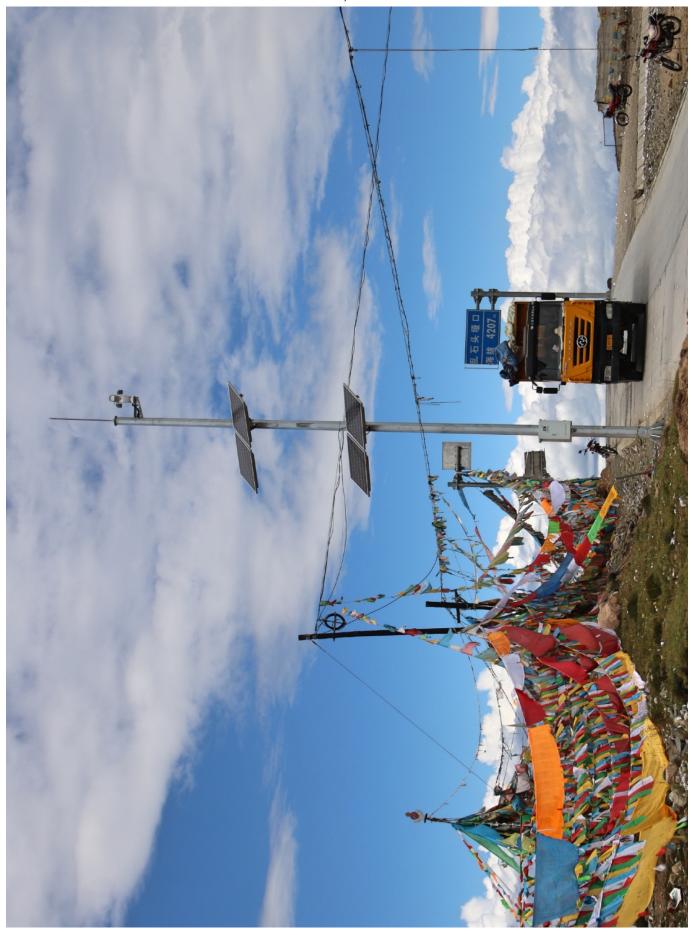
ARCHITECTURE

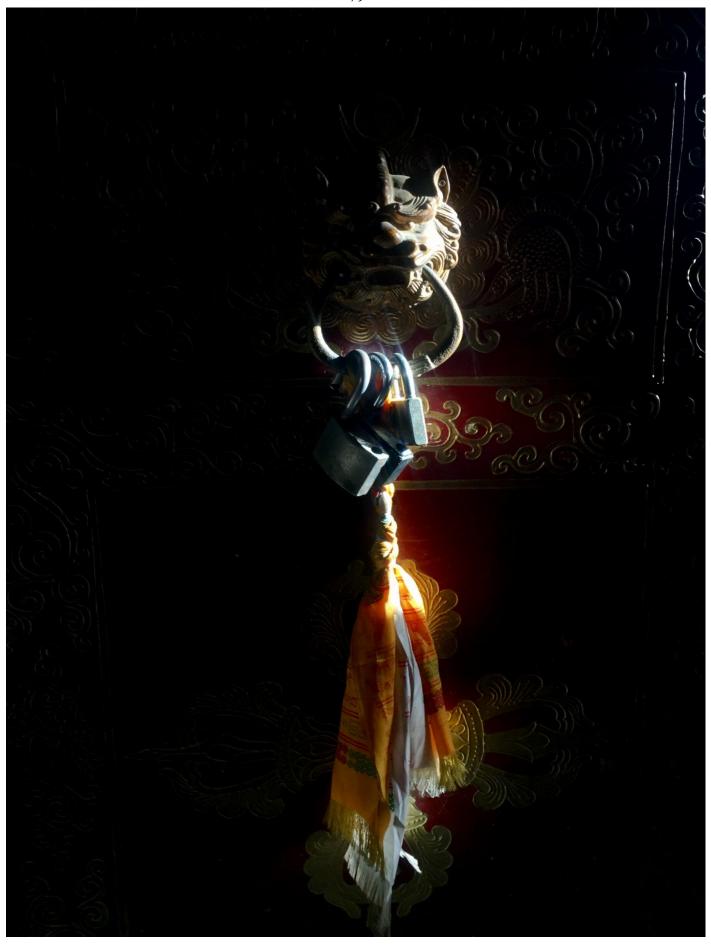








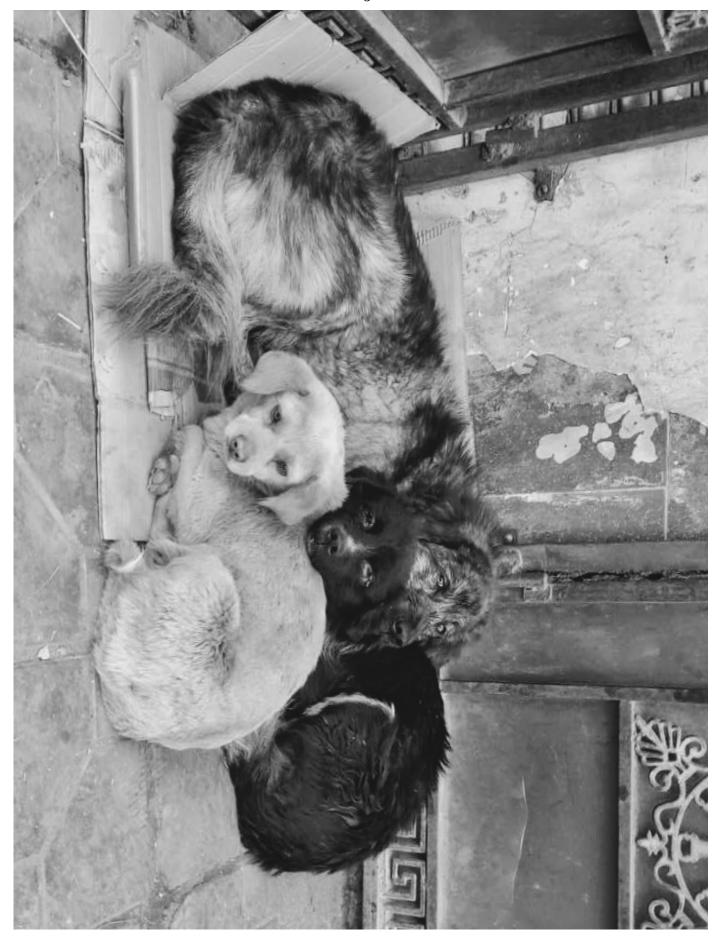




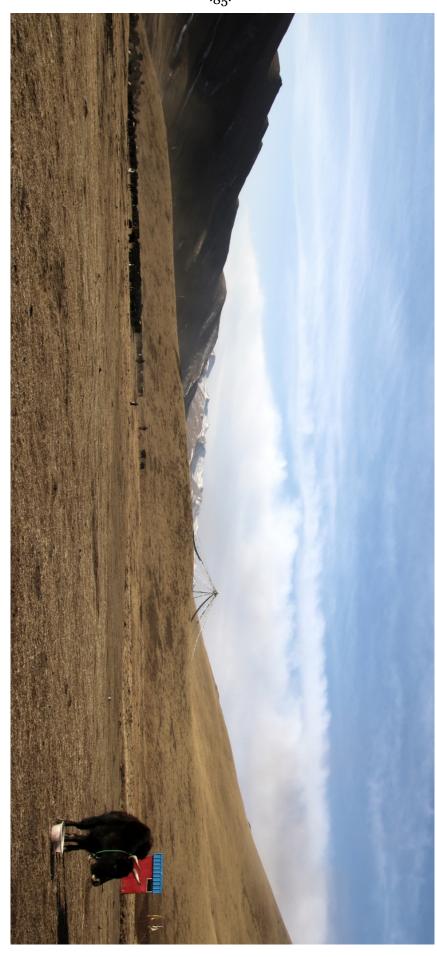
ANIMALS







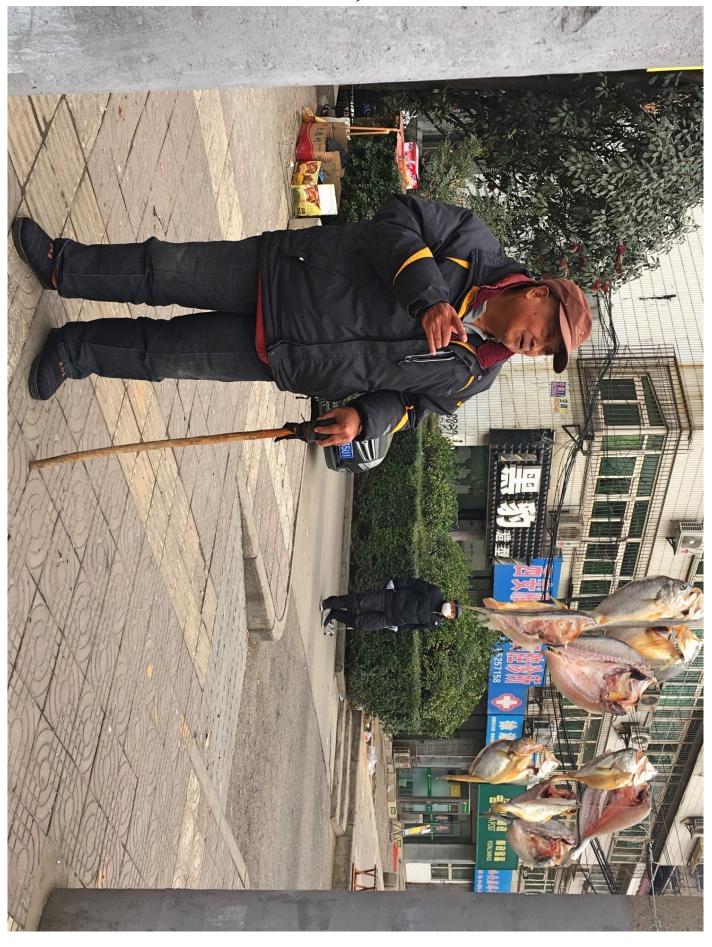




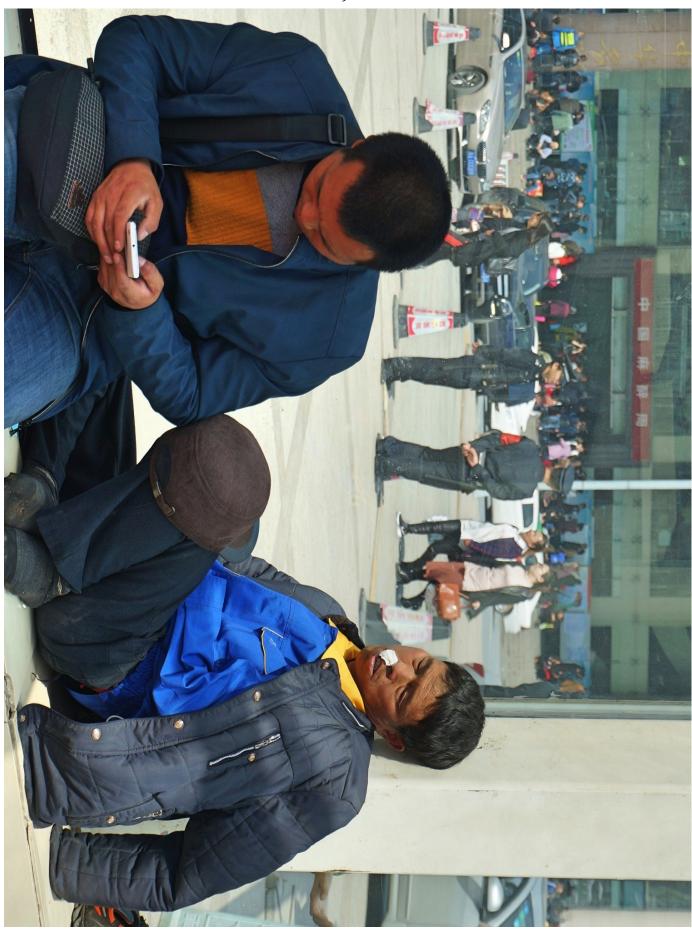
PART TWO XI'AN CITY

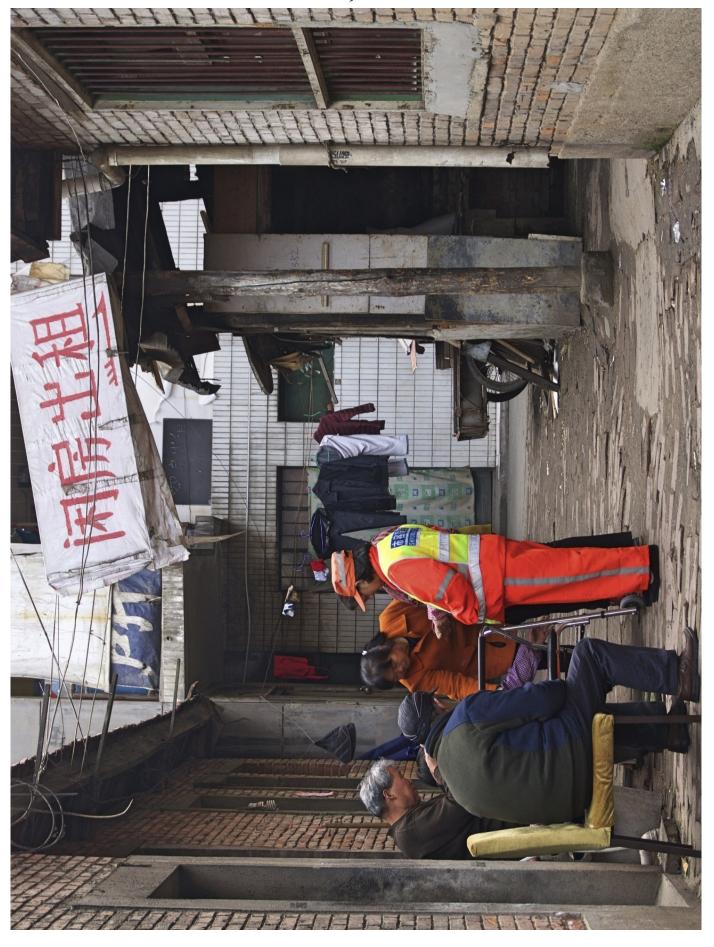
PEOPLE & LIFE





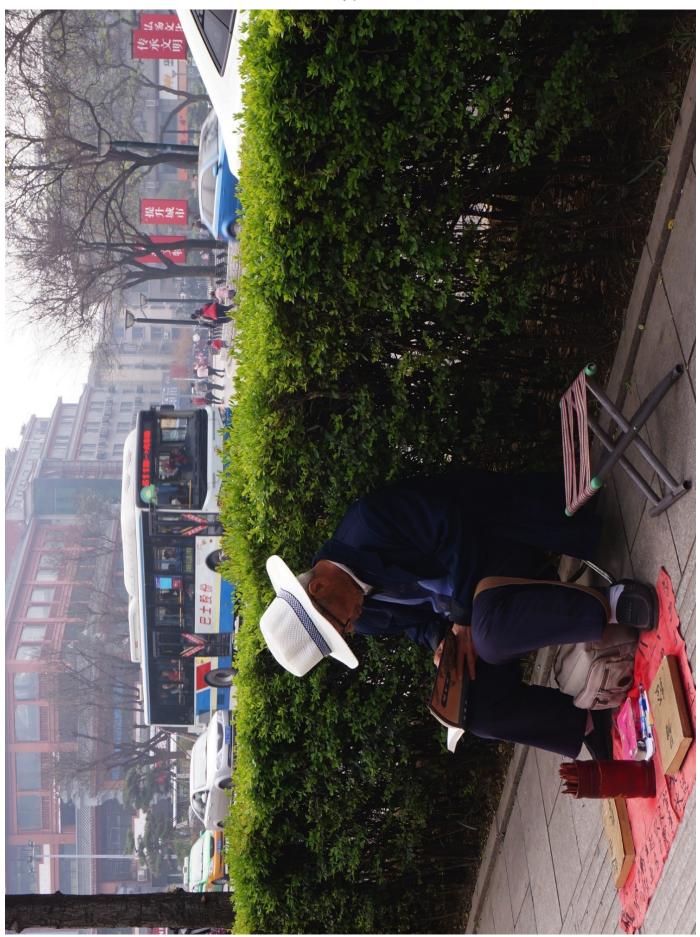


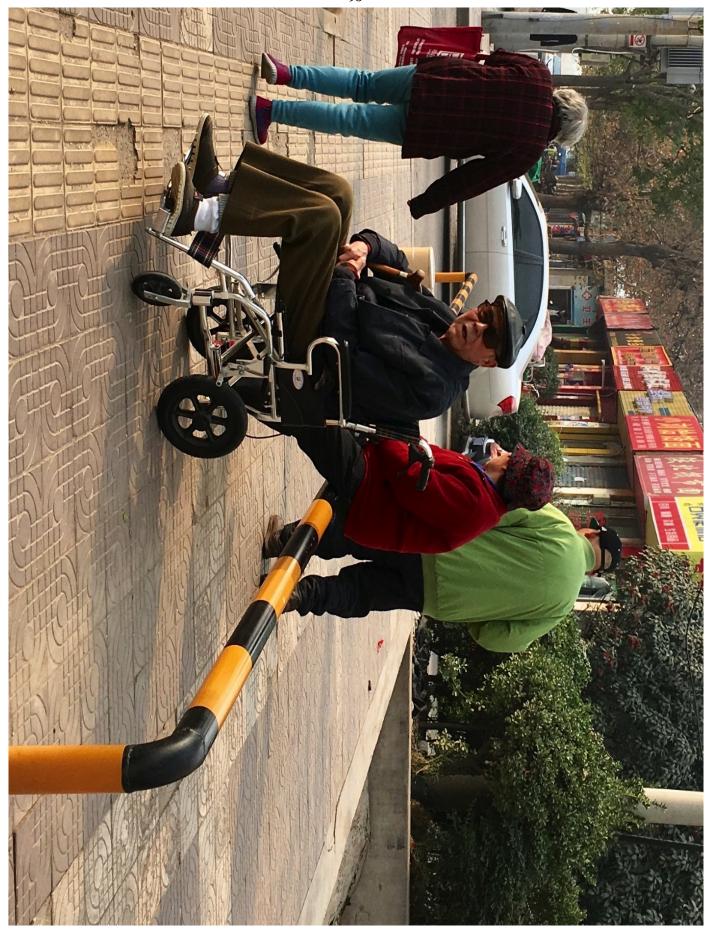














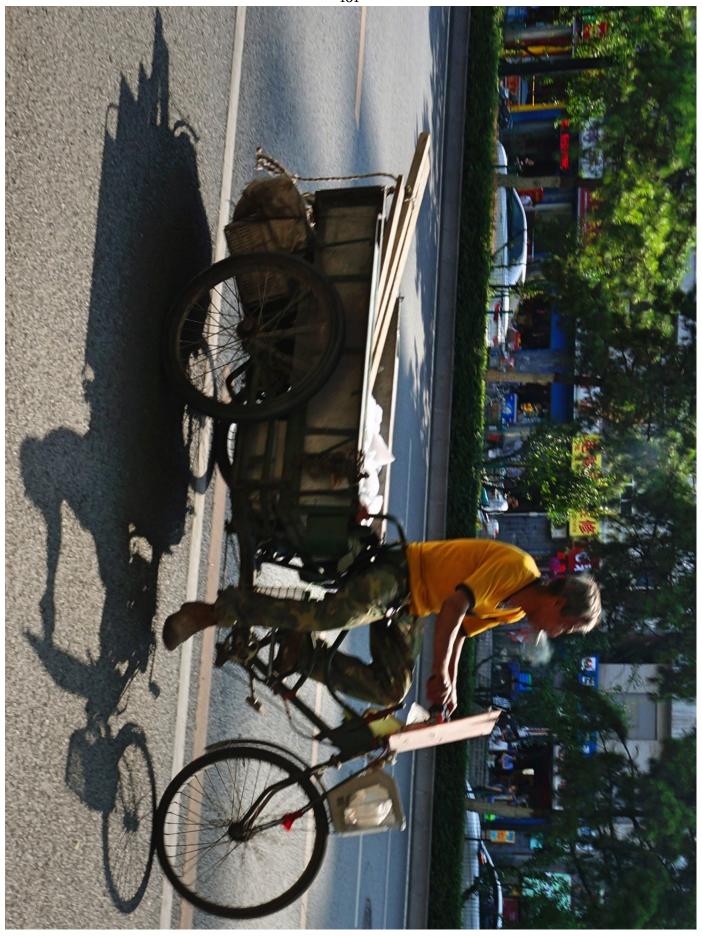


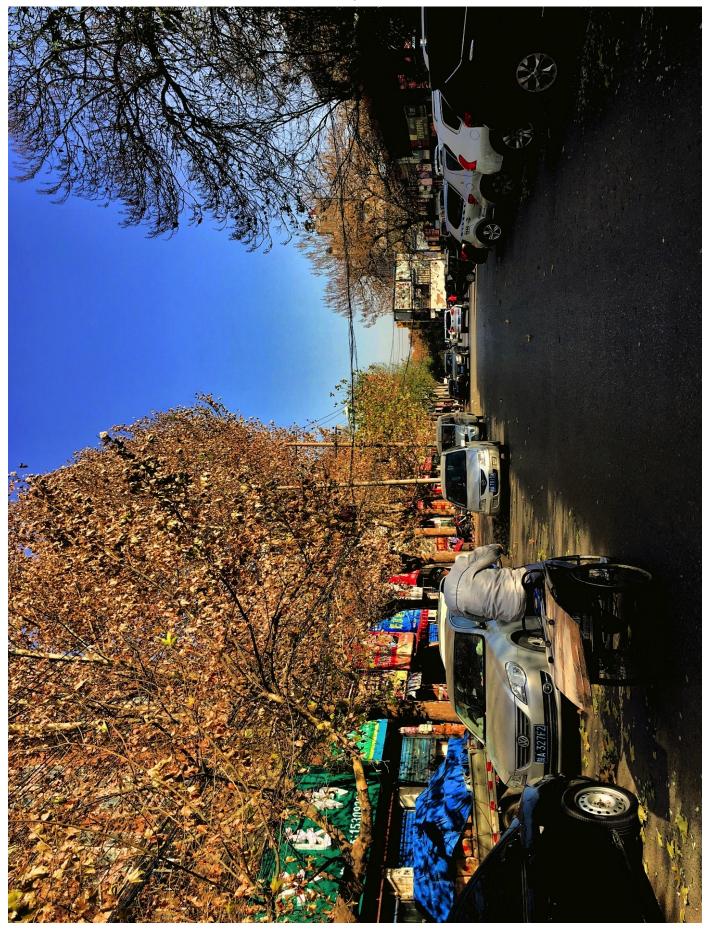


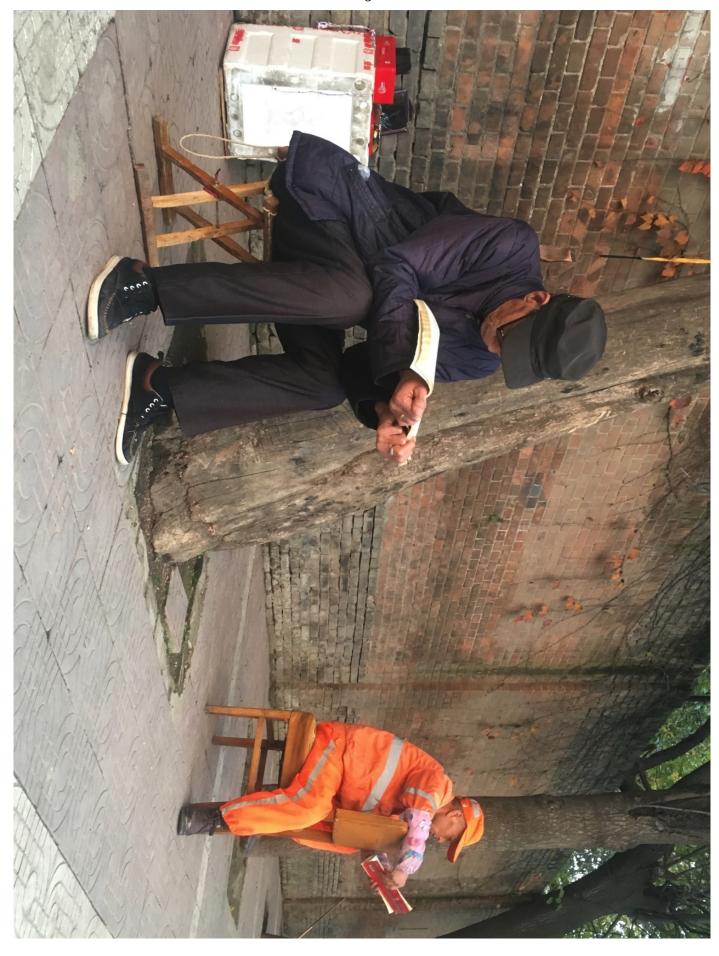


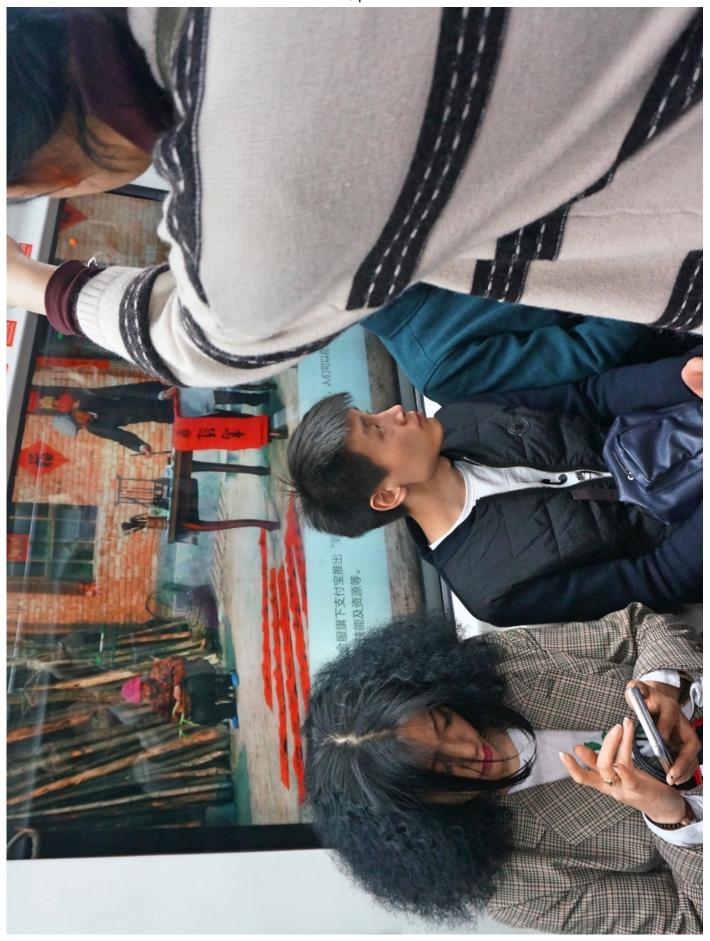




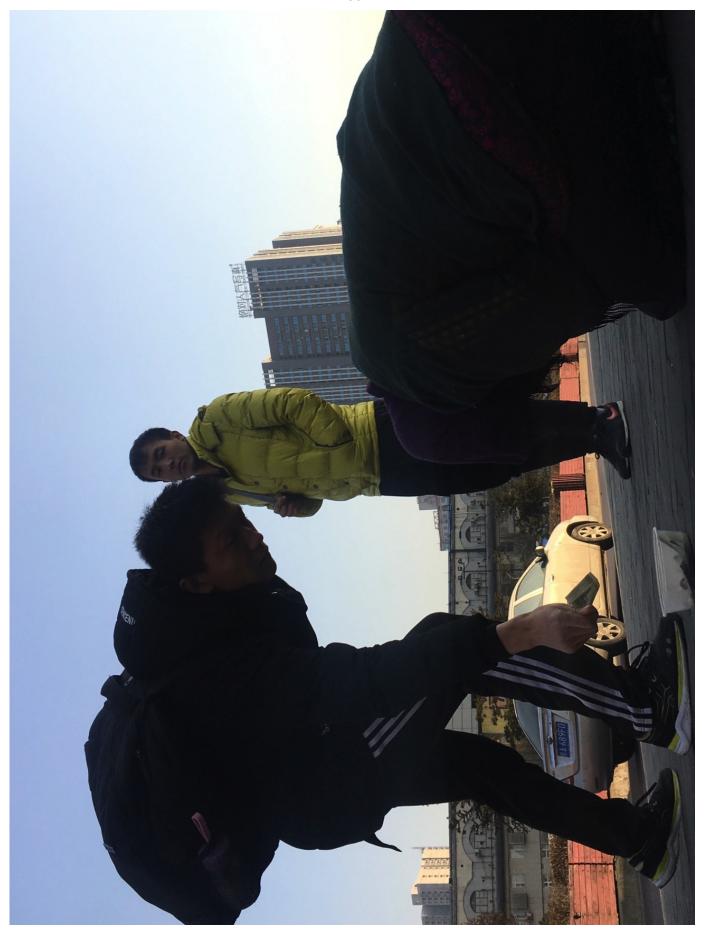






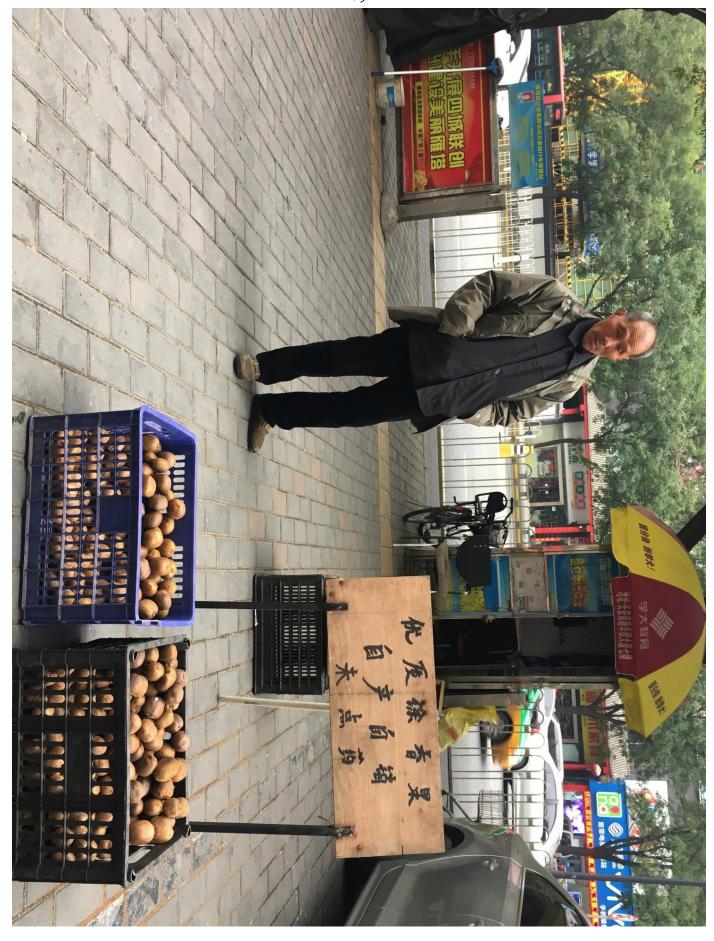


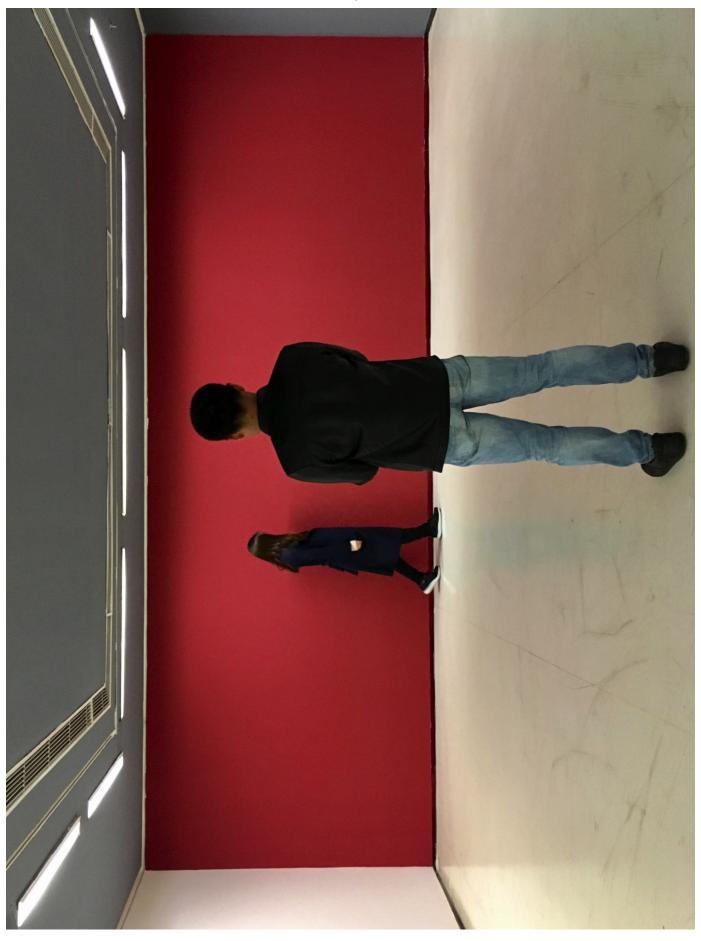






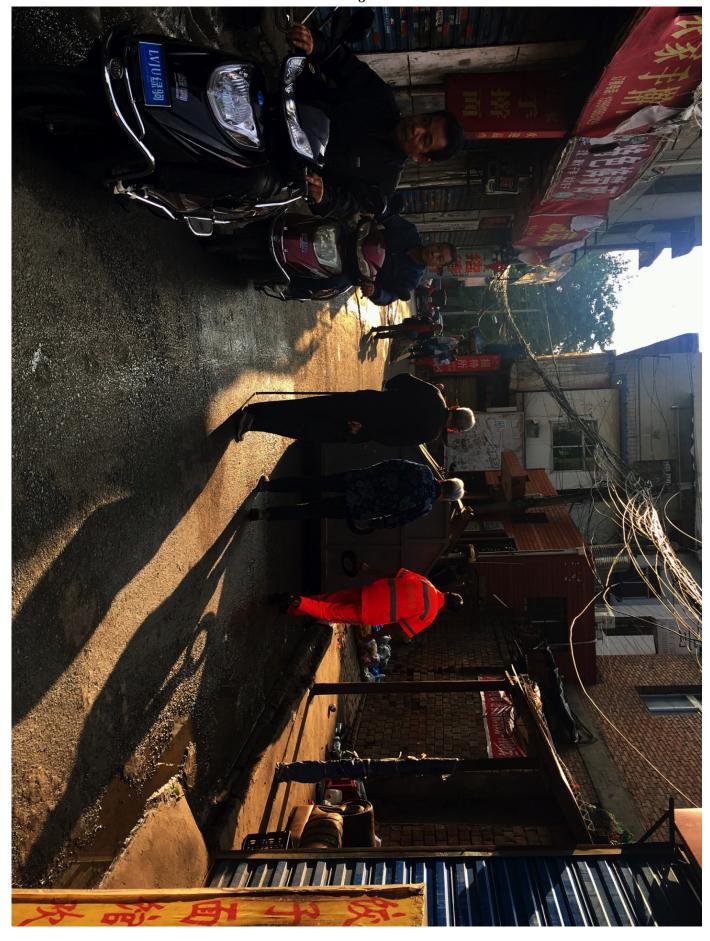




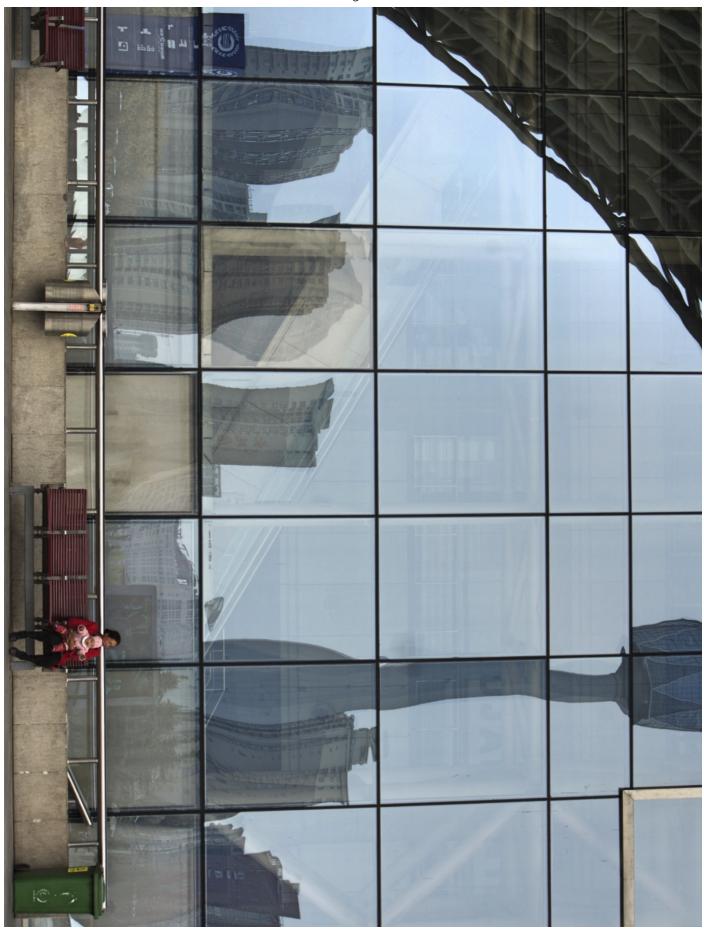














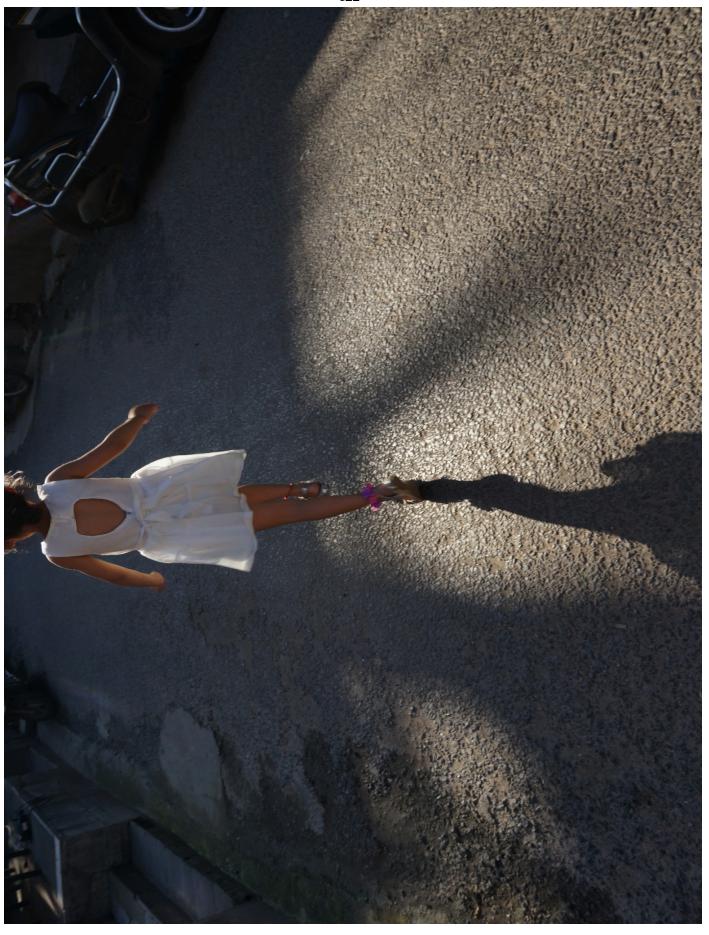




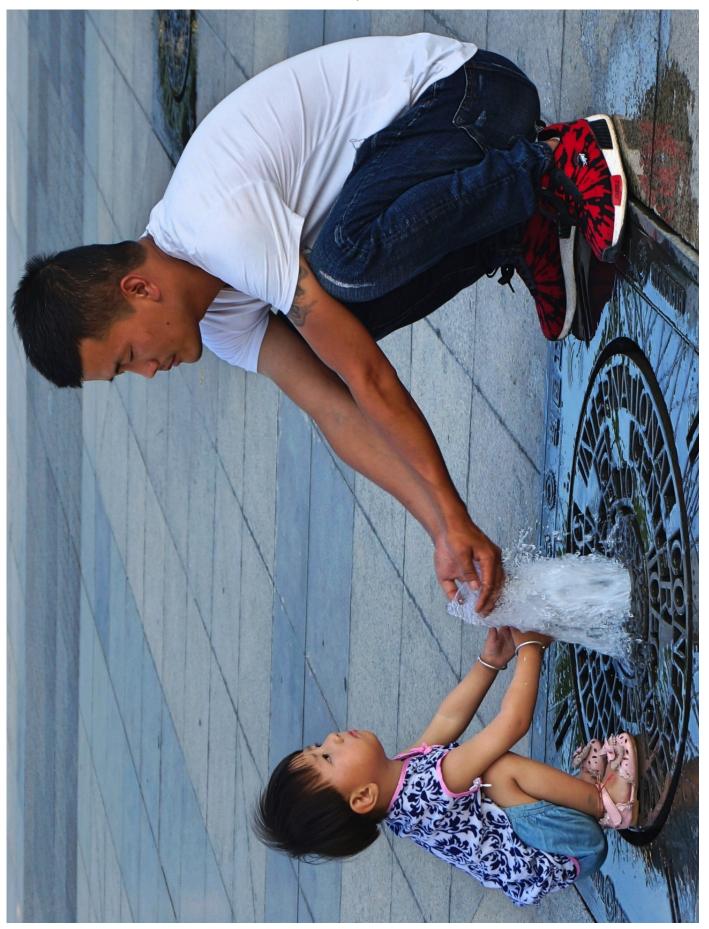


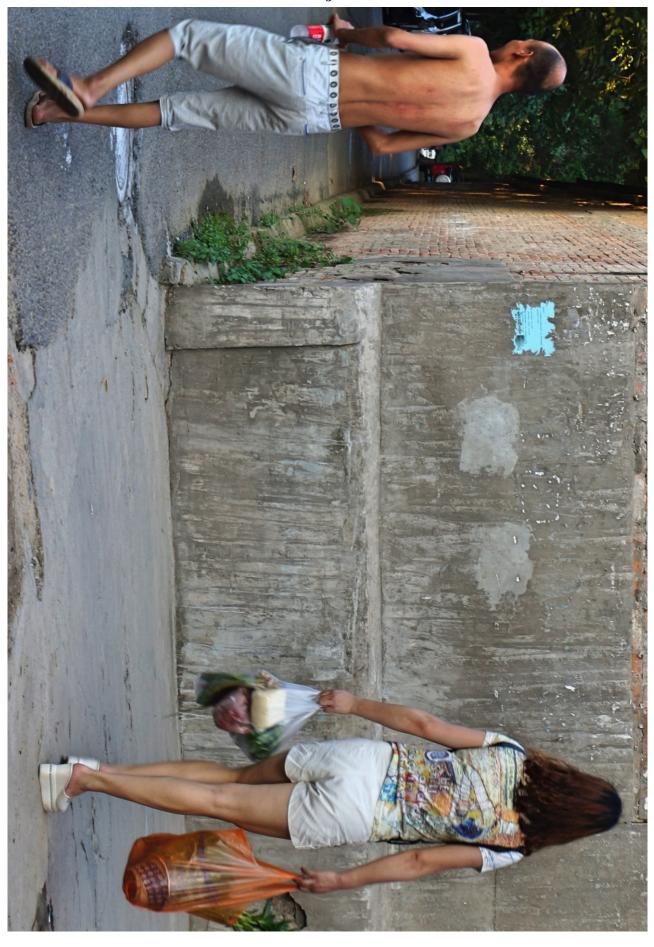


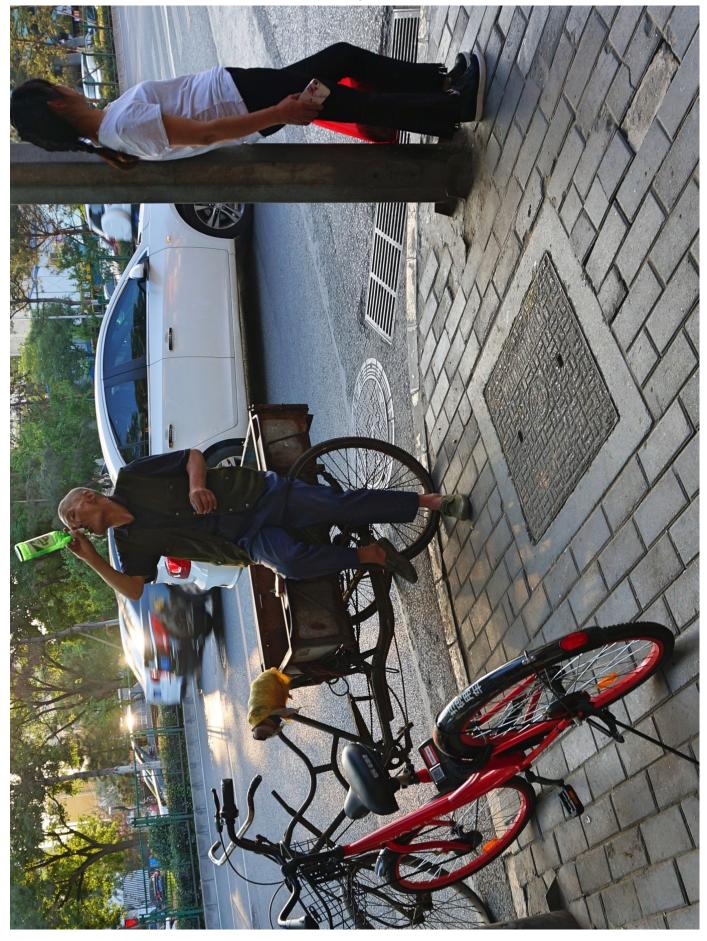


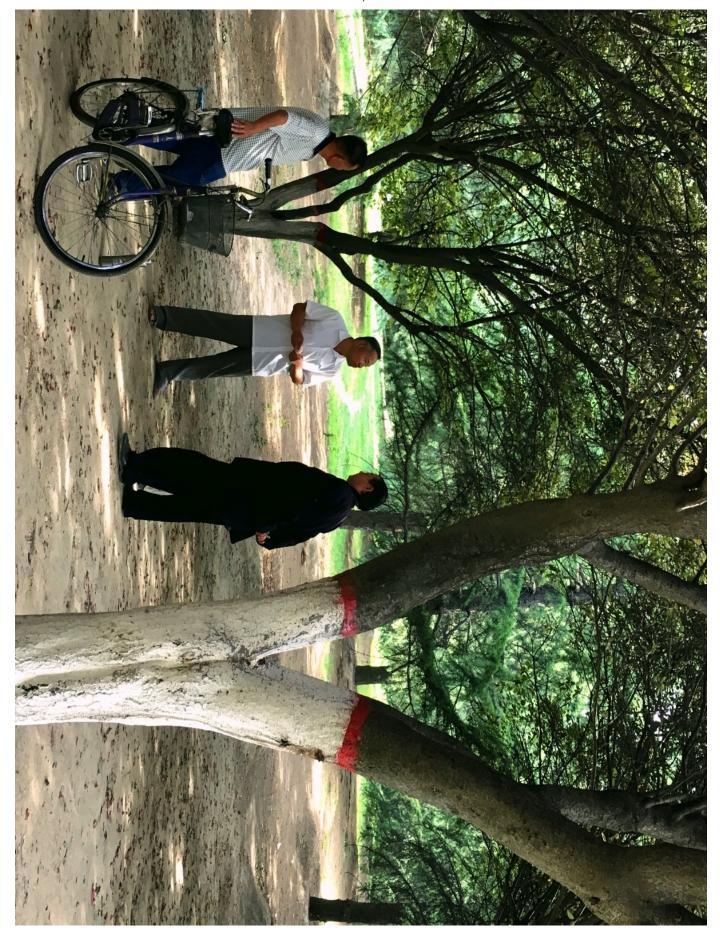


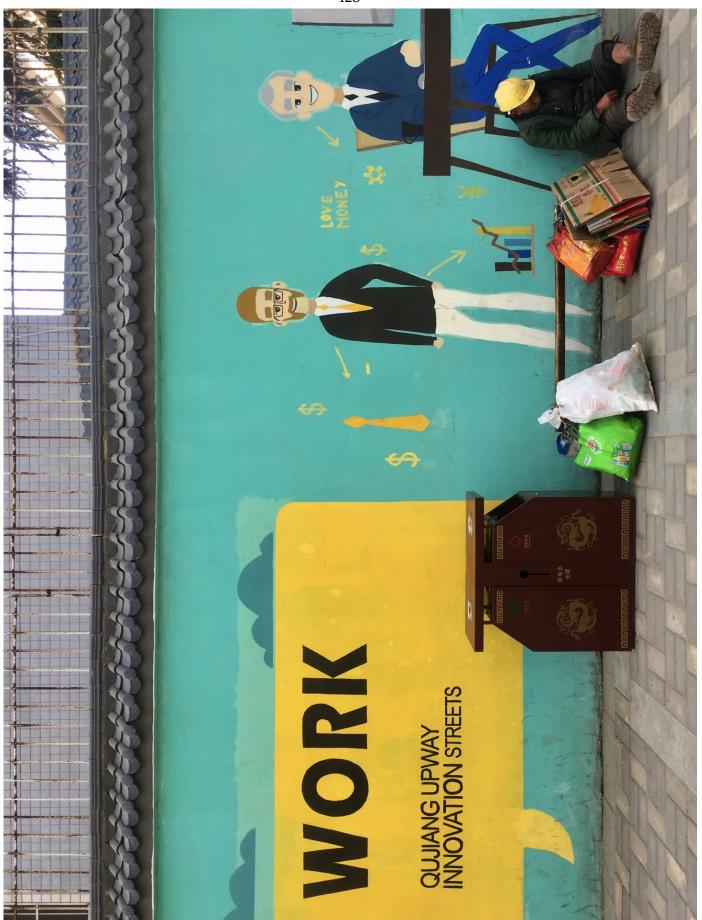


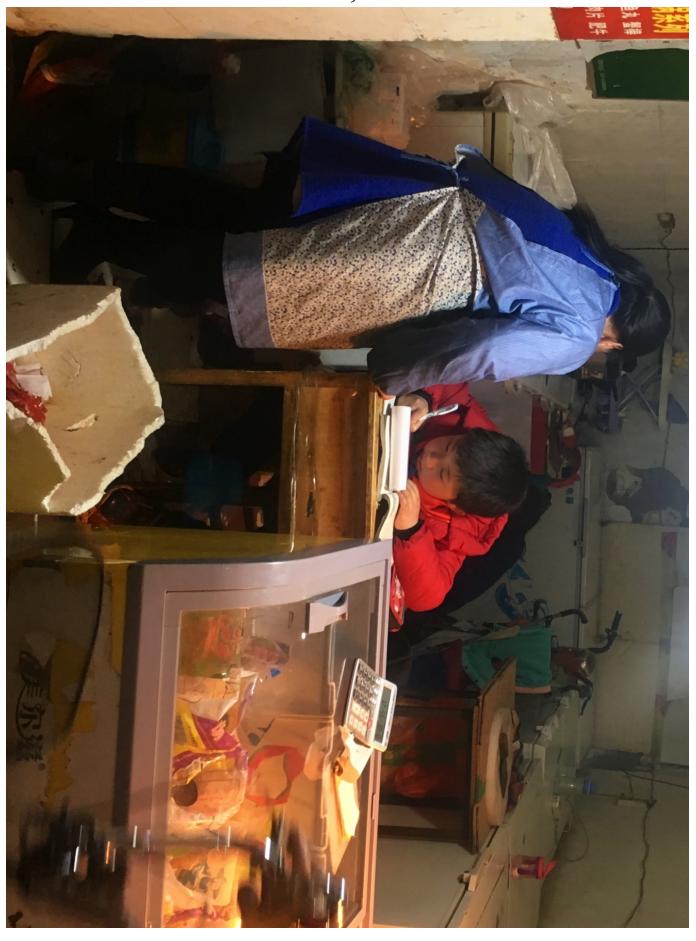


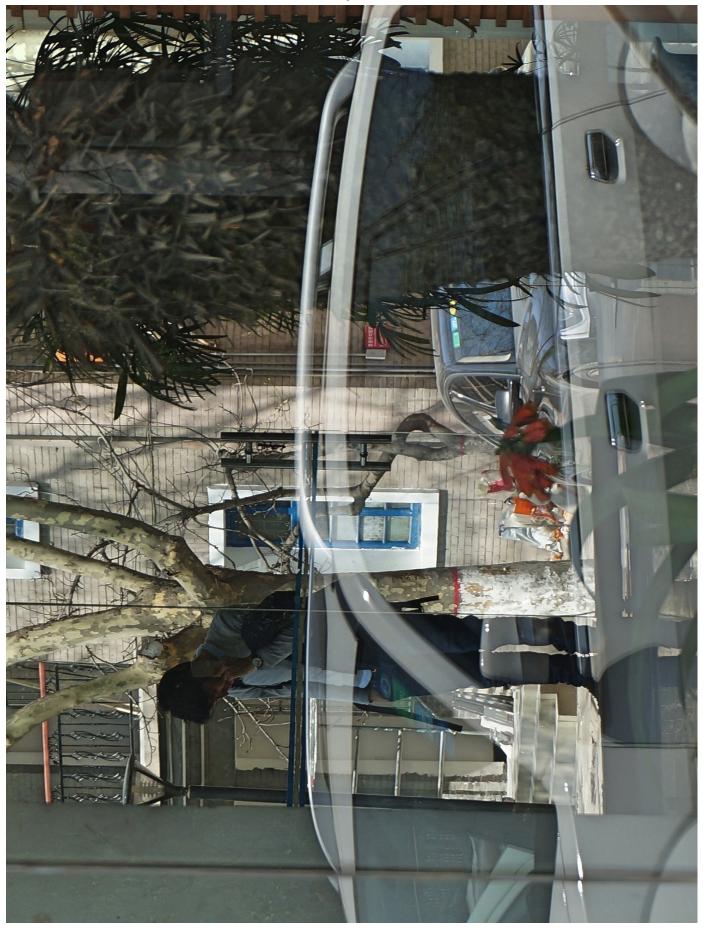










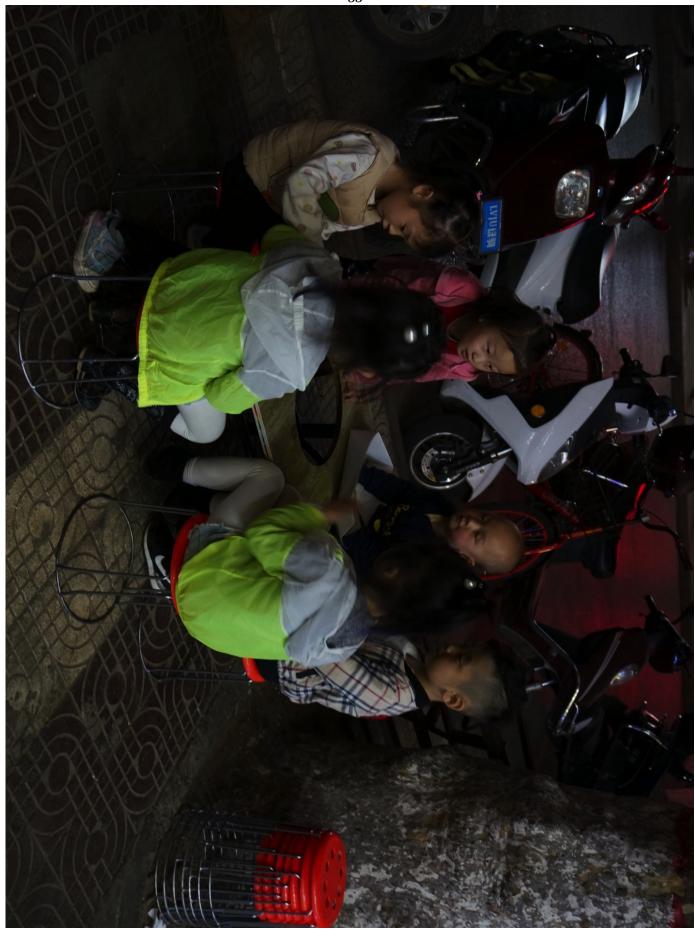






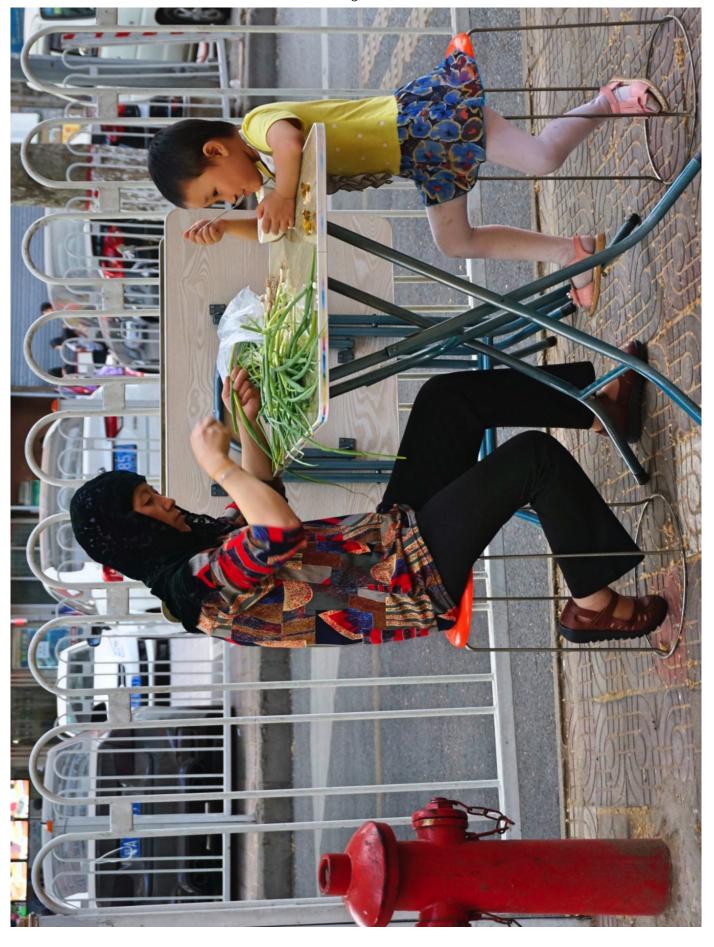


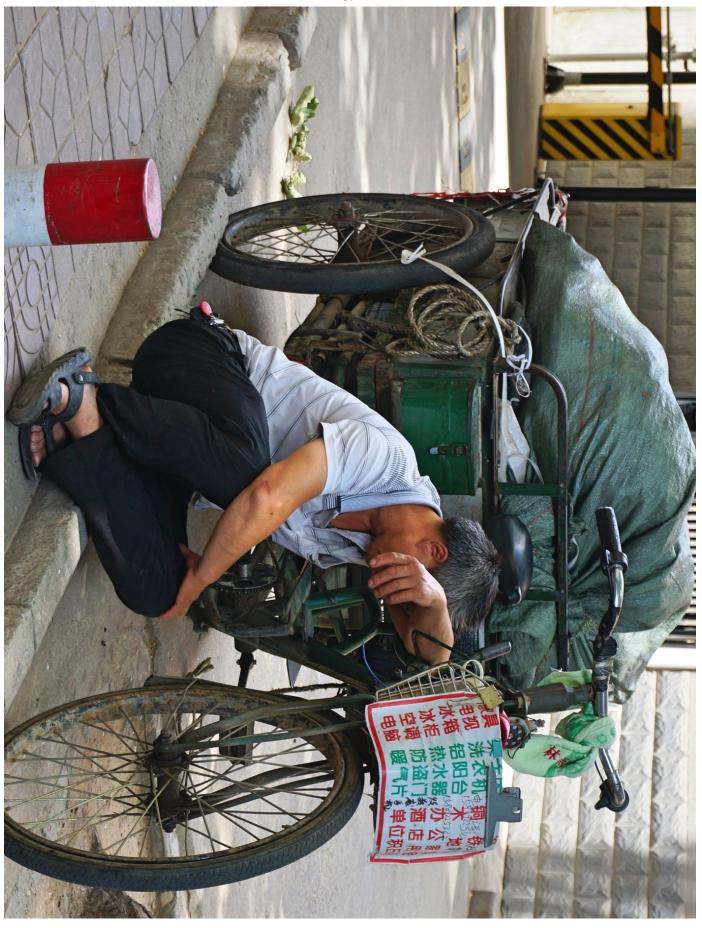


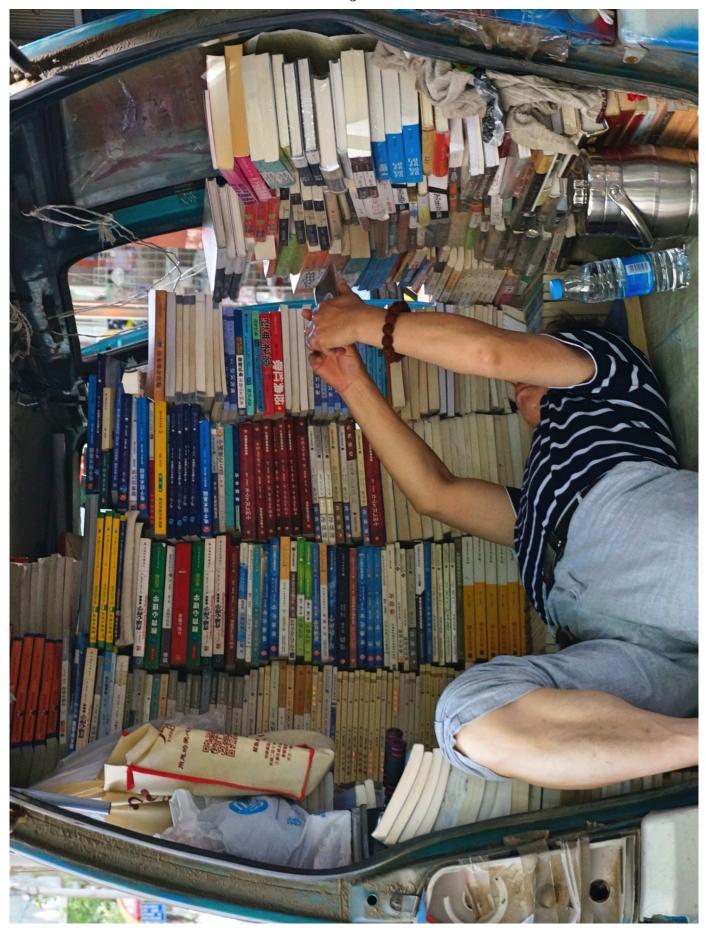






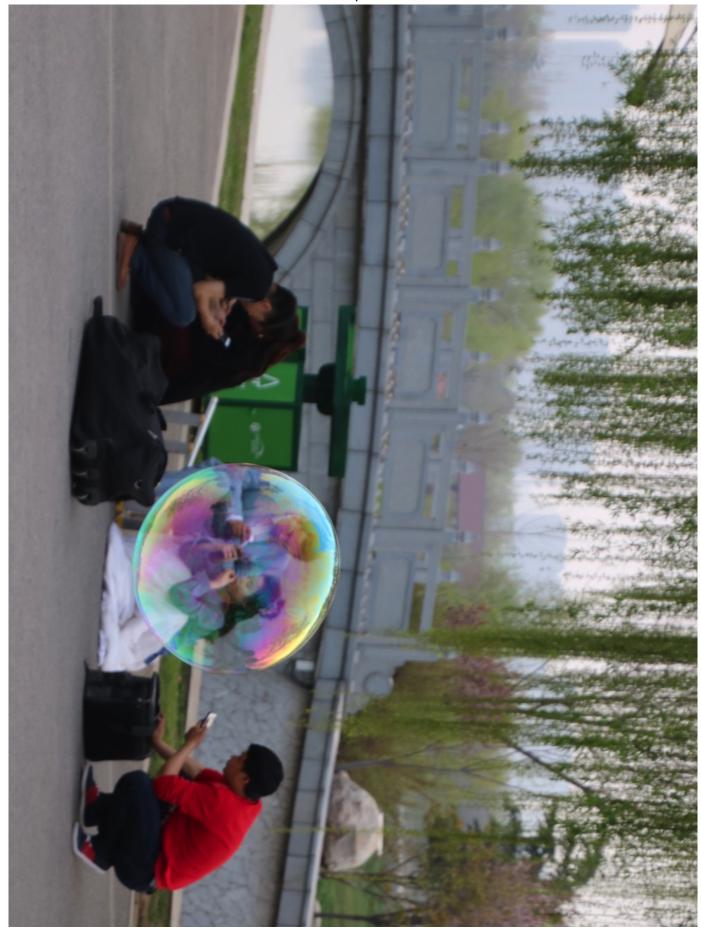






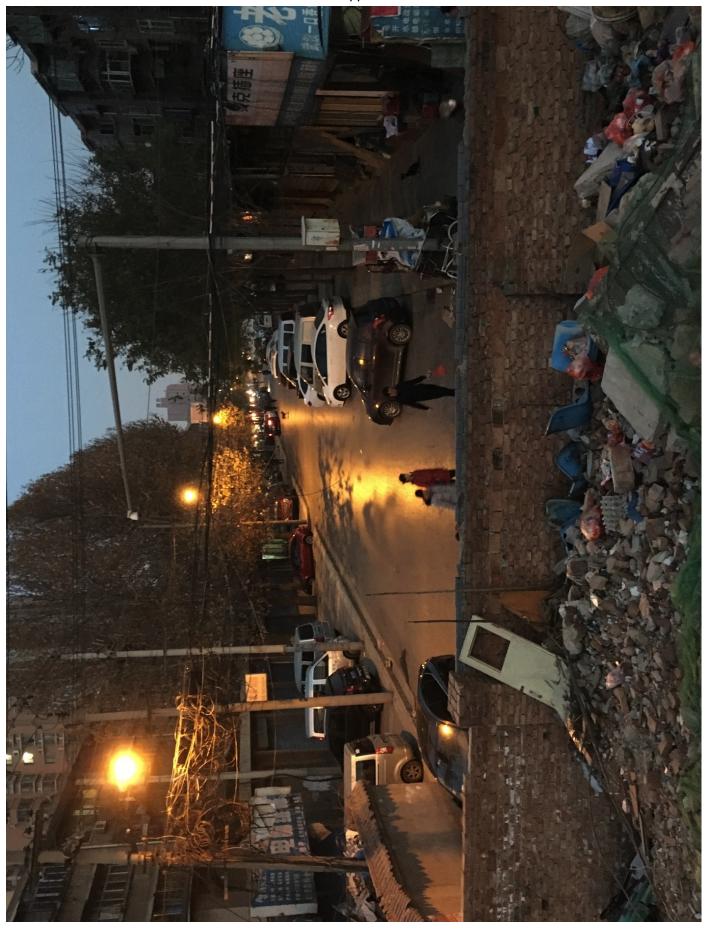






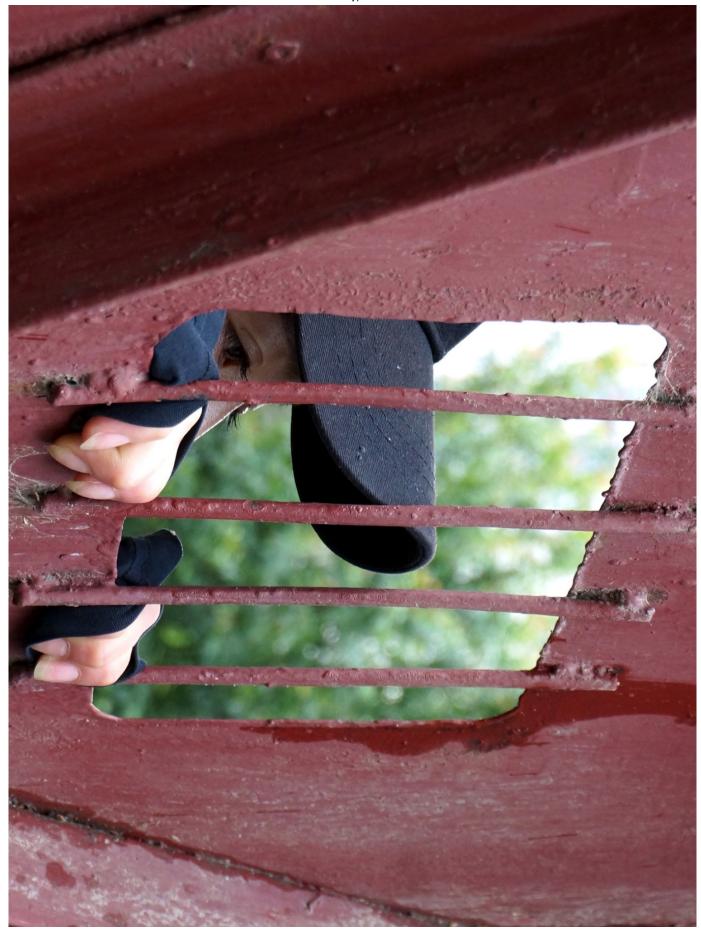




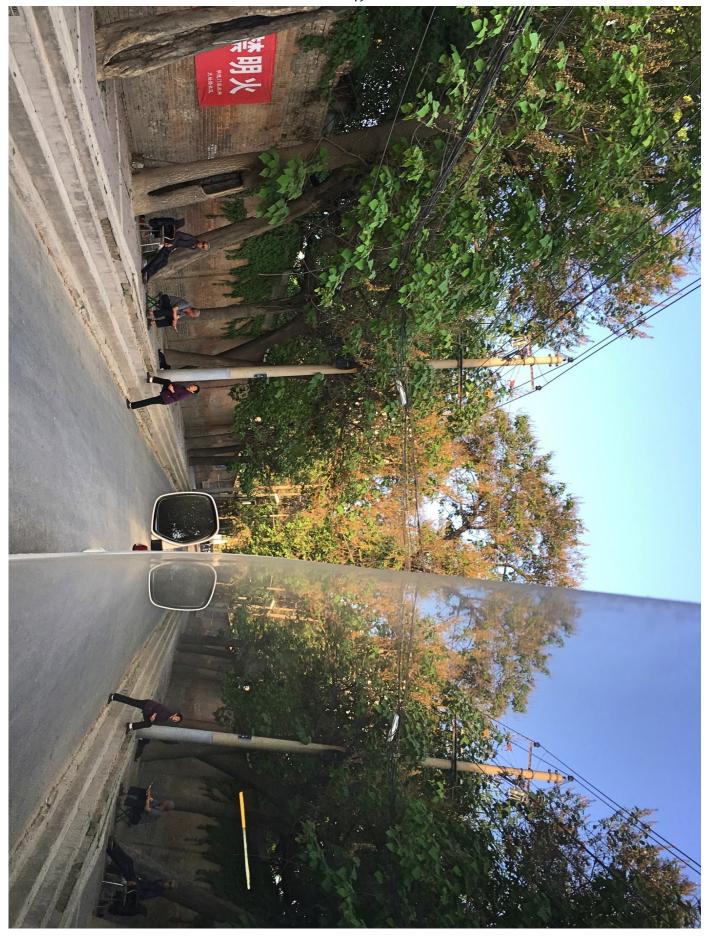


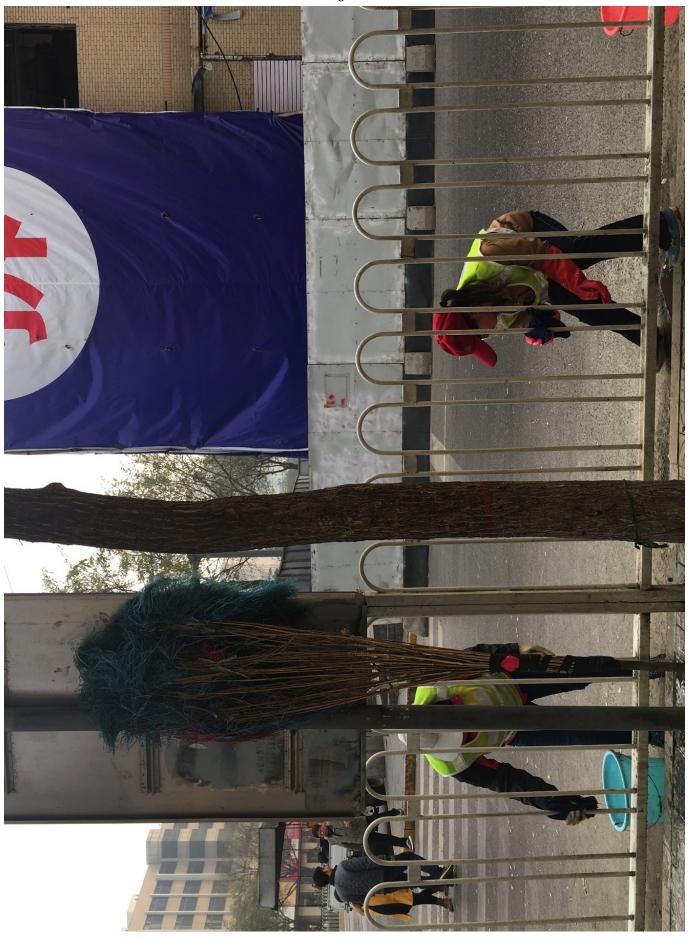




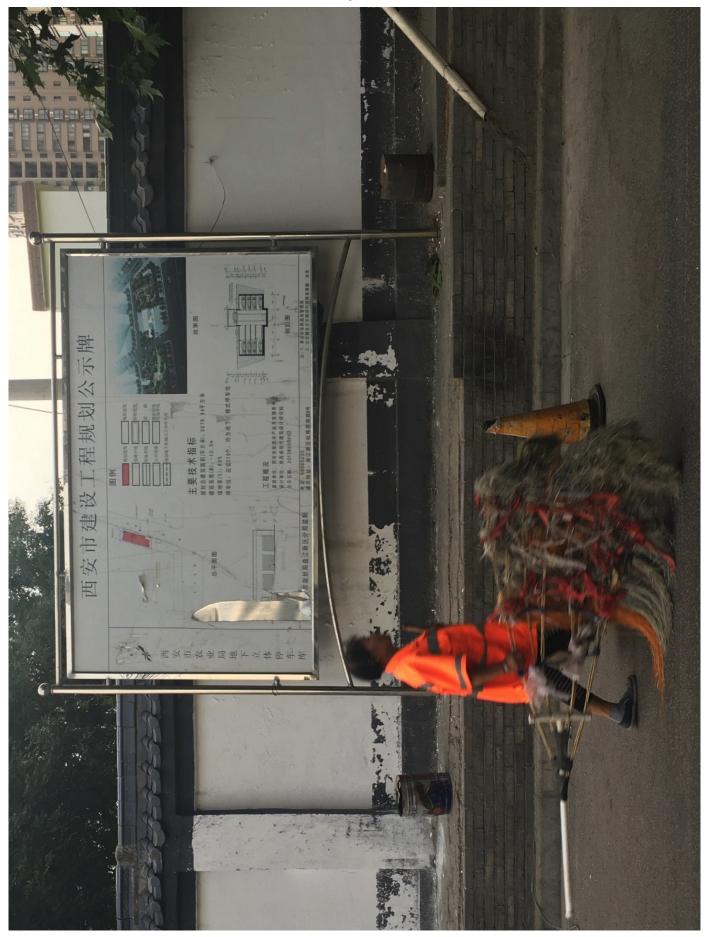


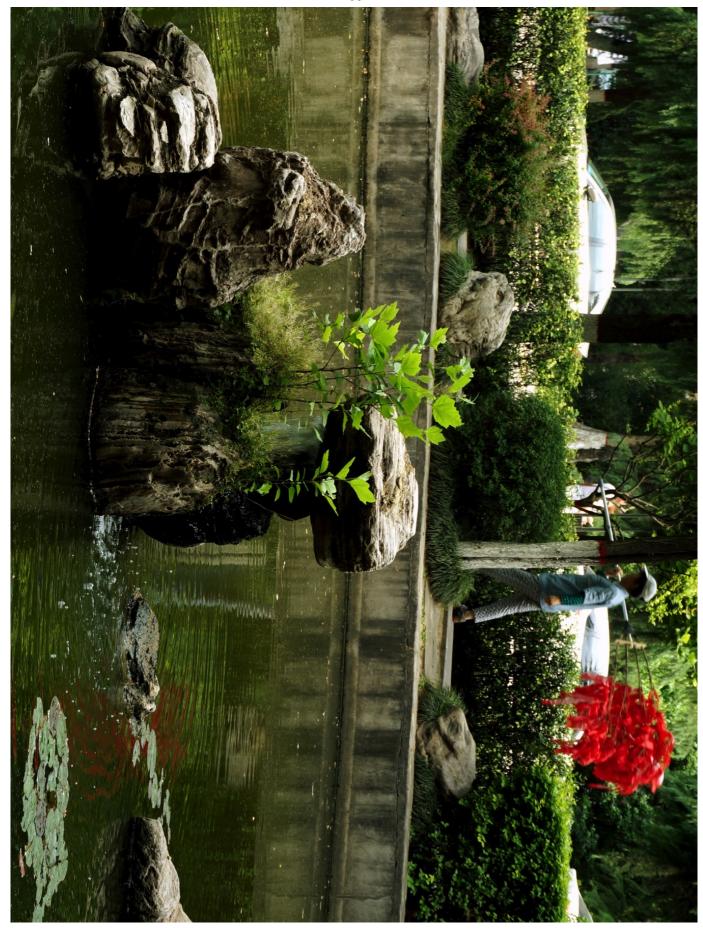


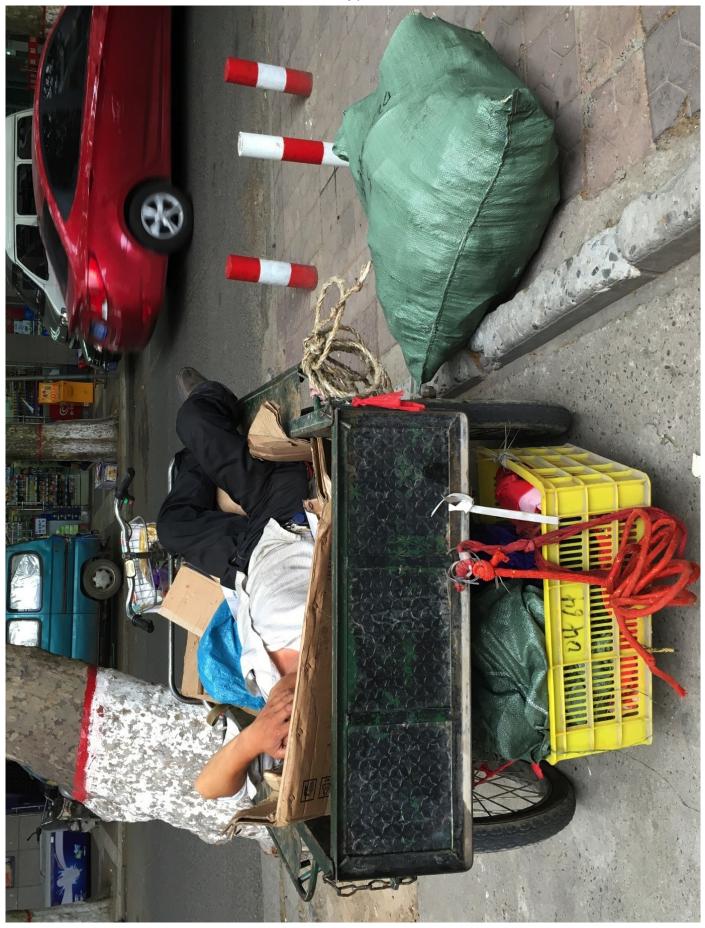


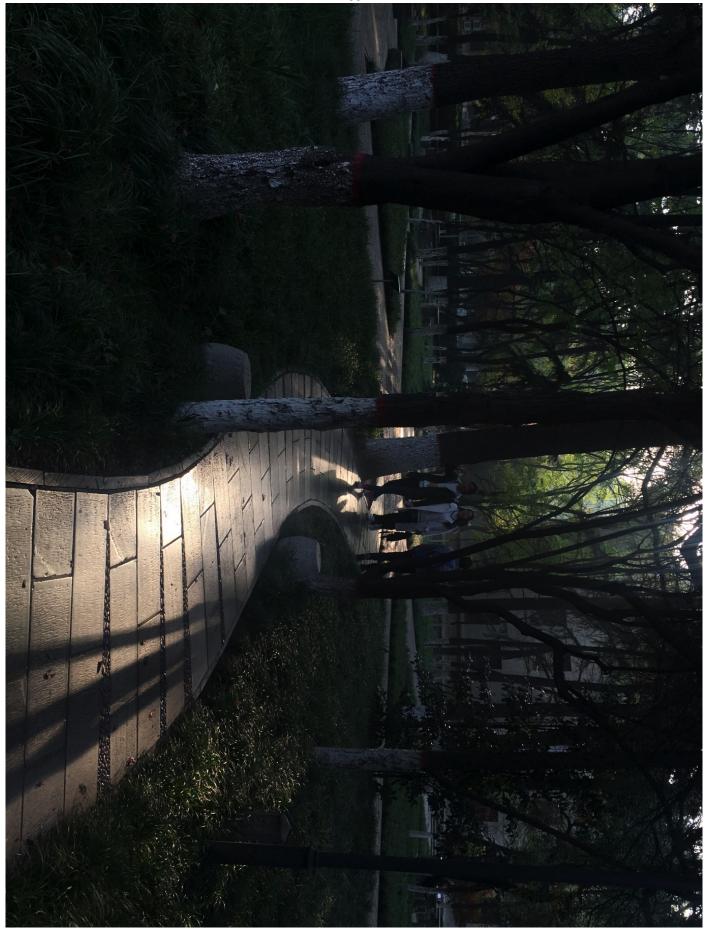


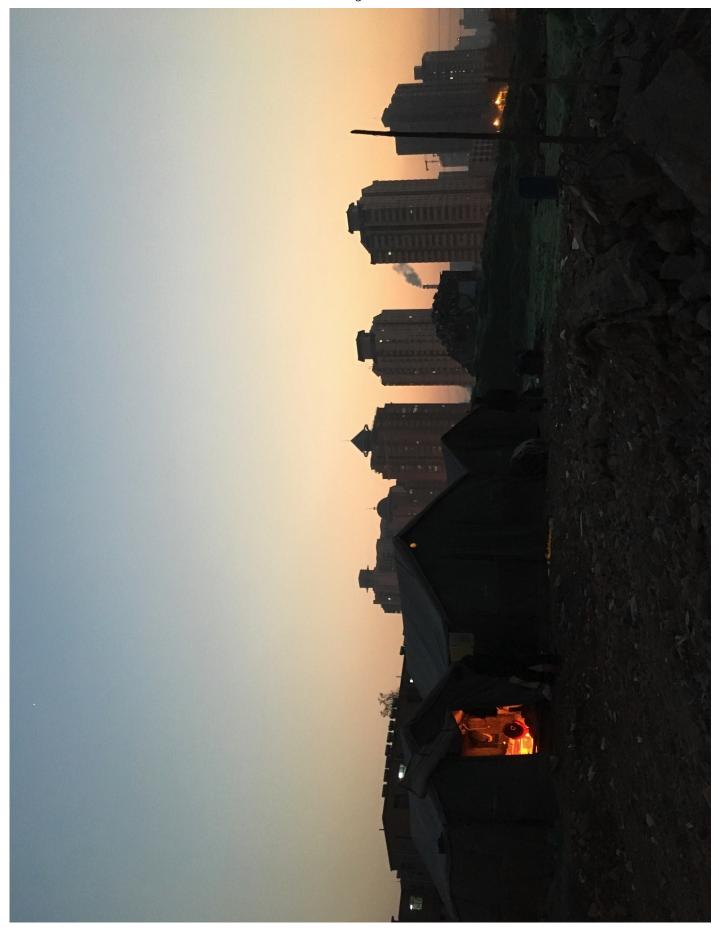


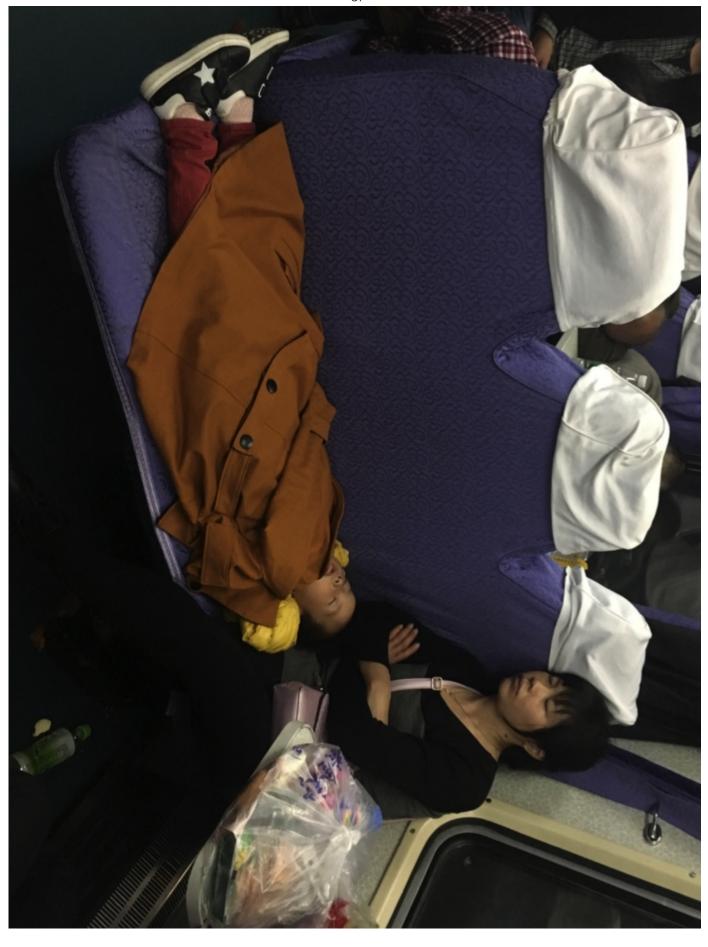




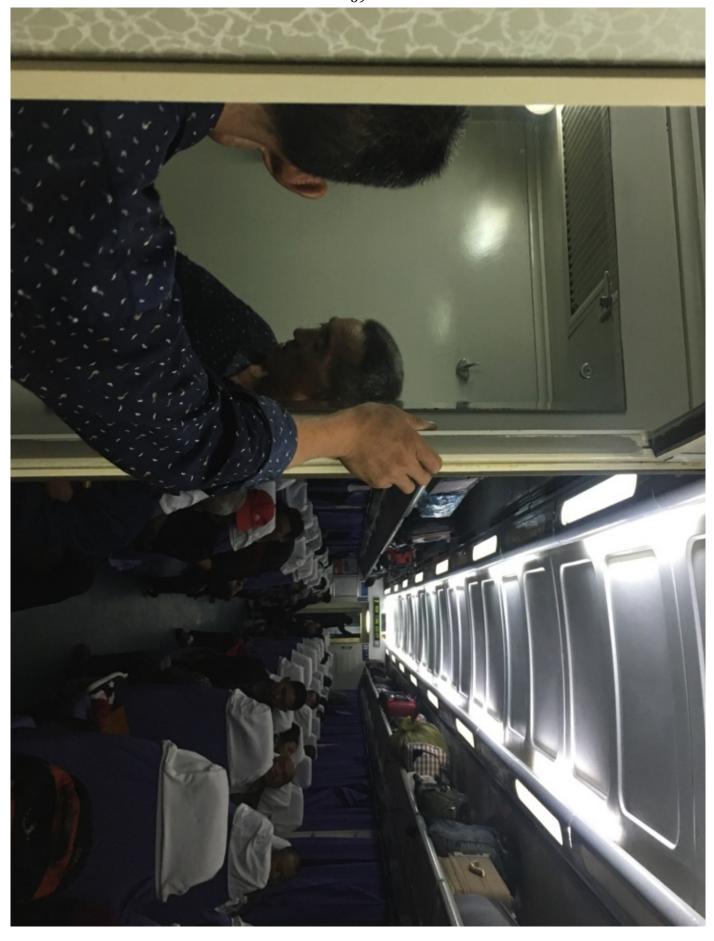


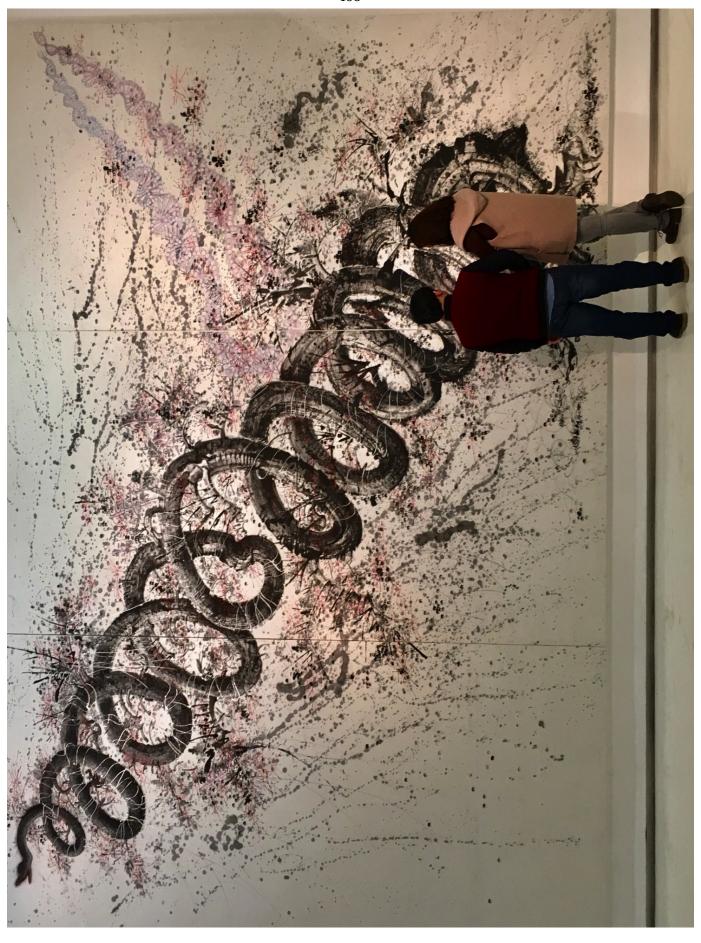


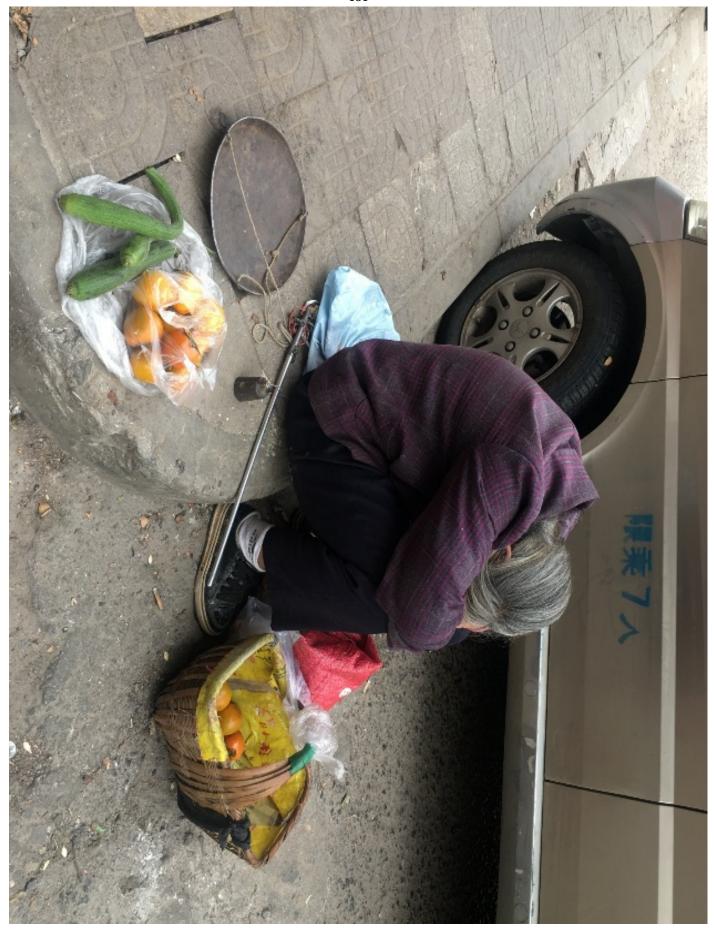


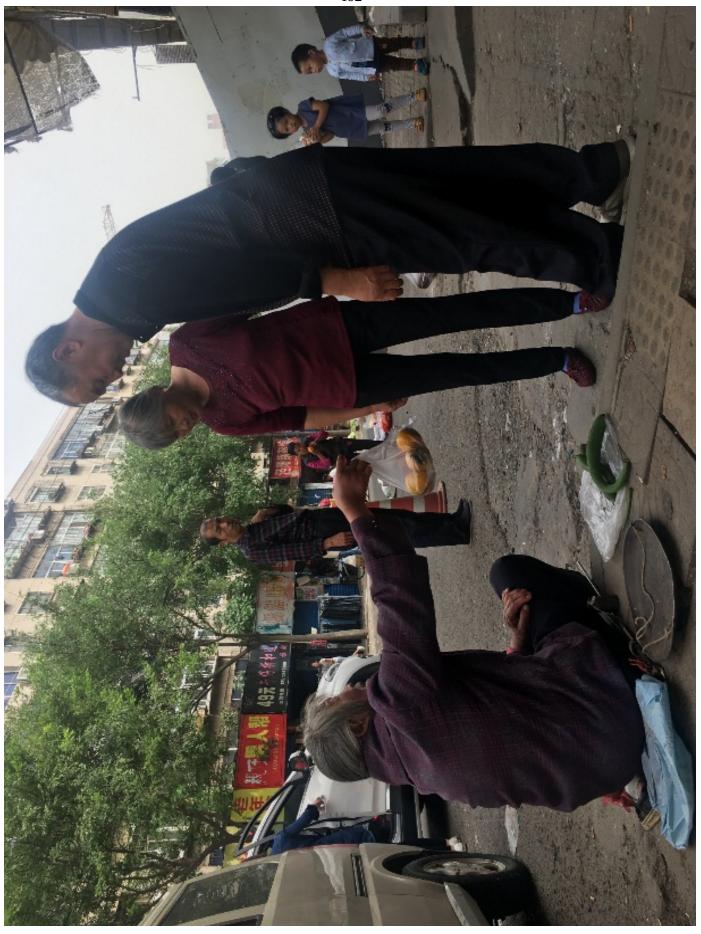






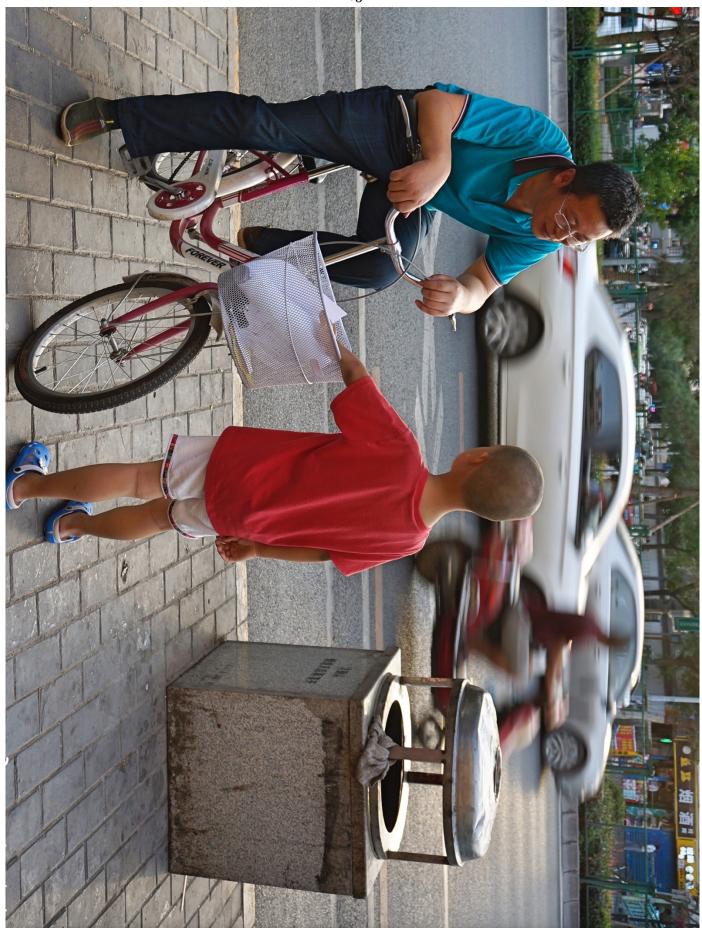


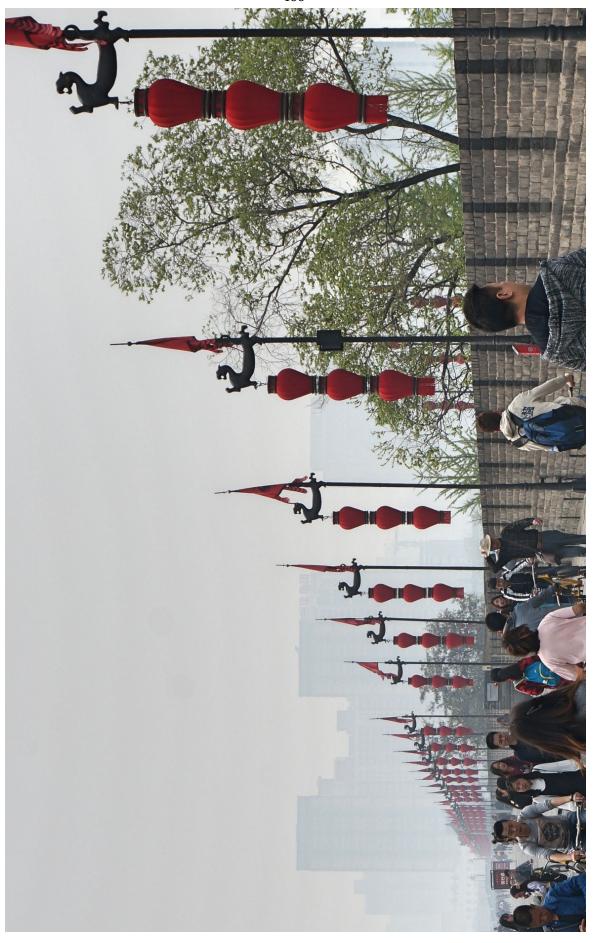


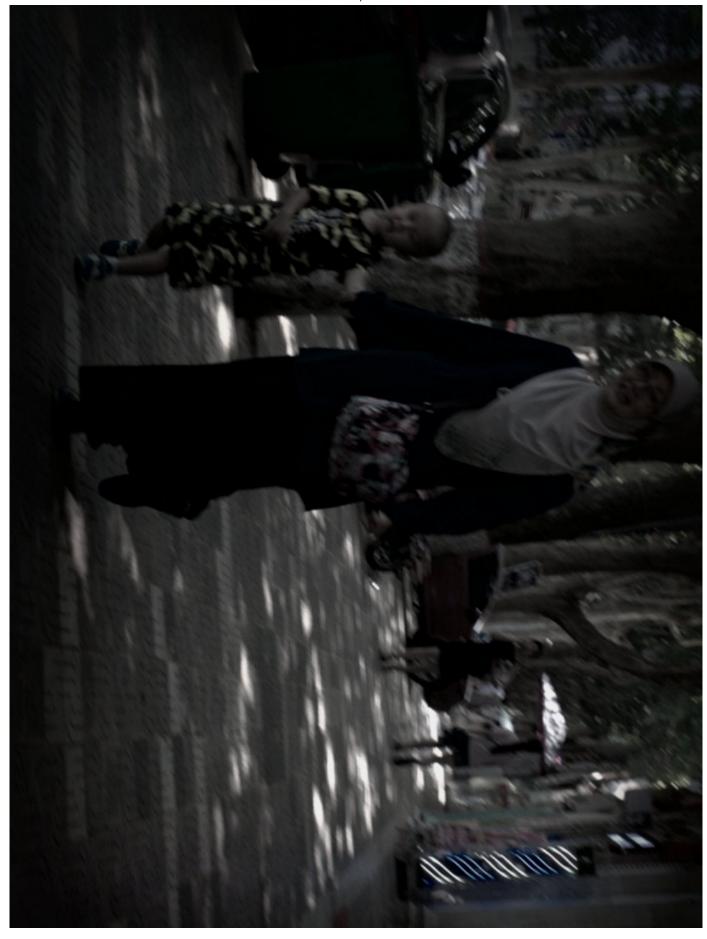












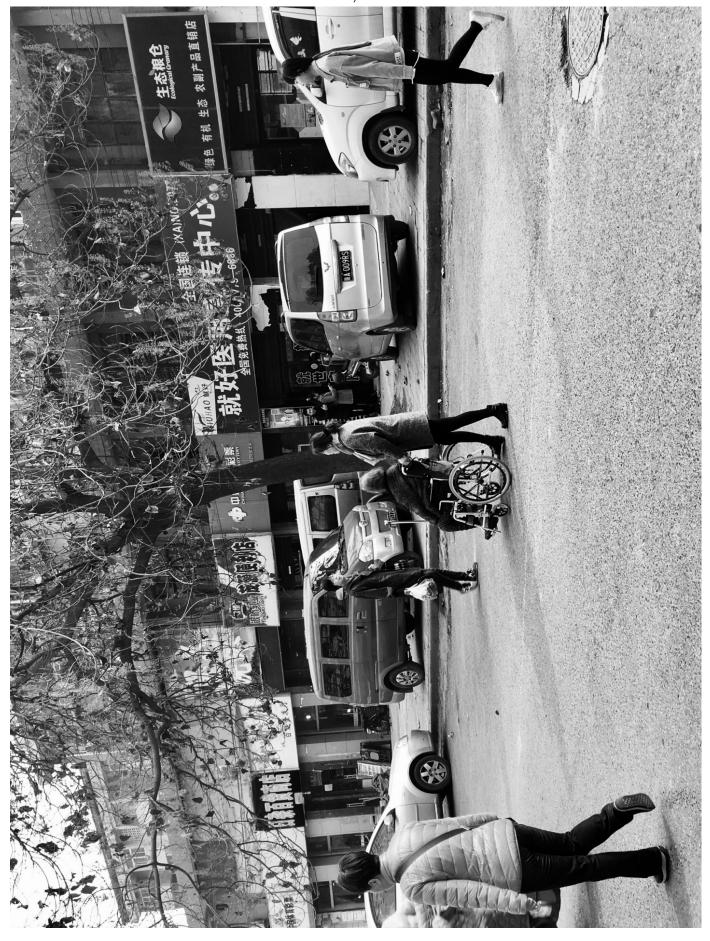










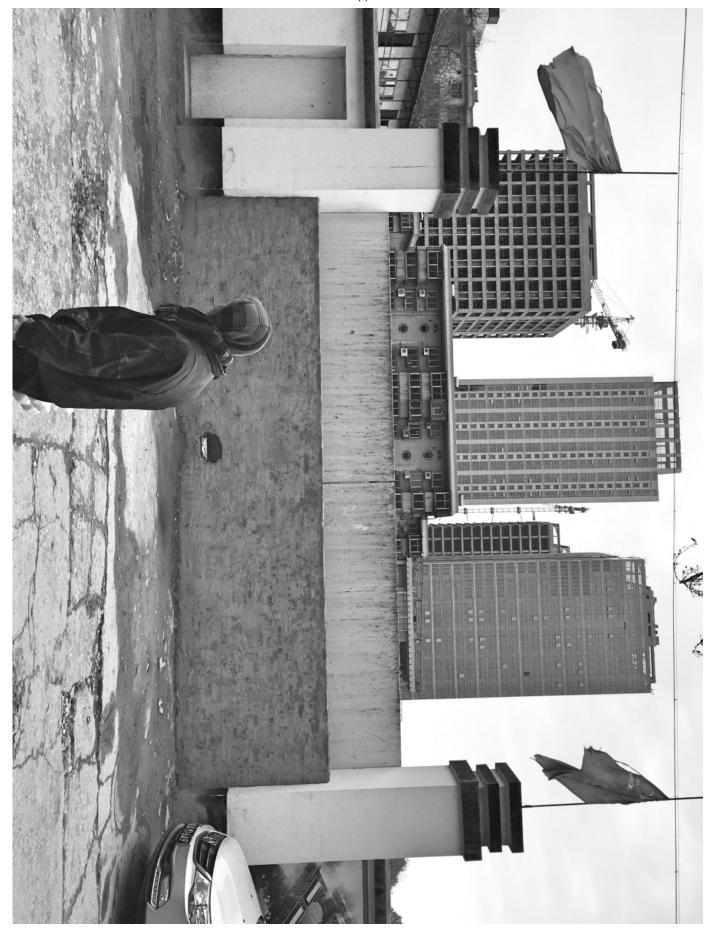


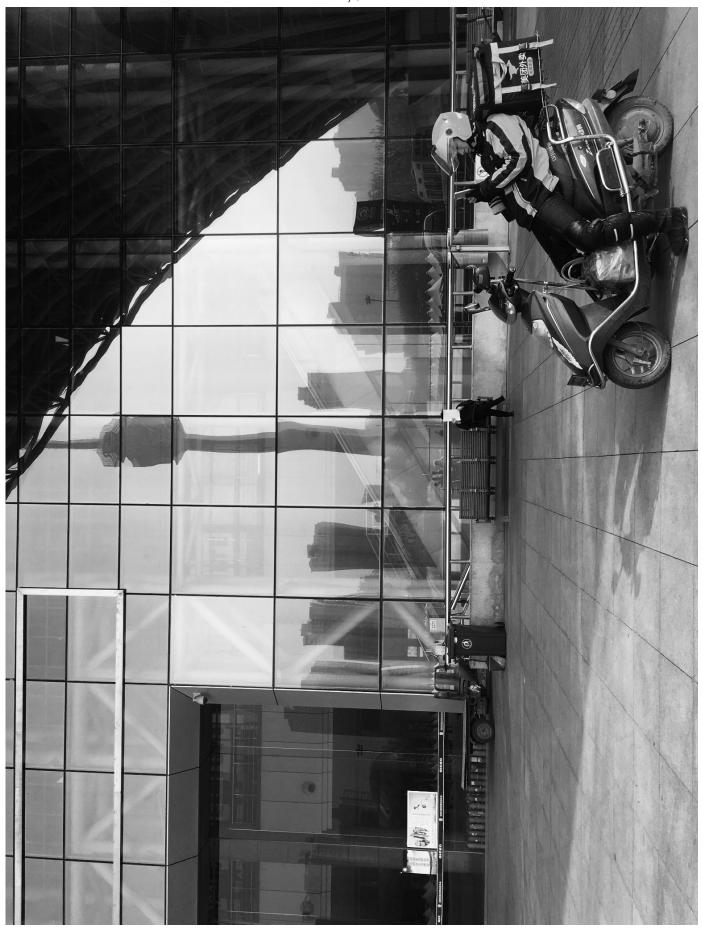




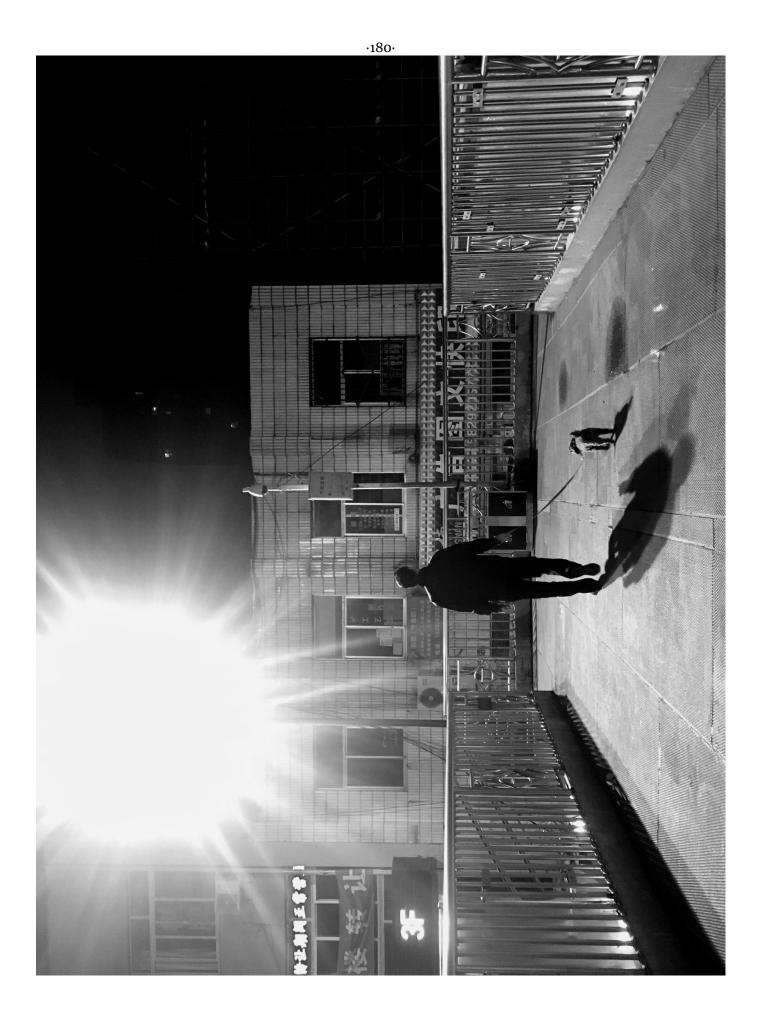








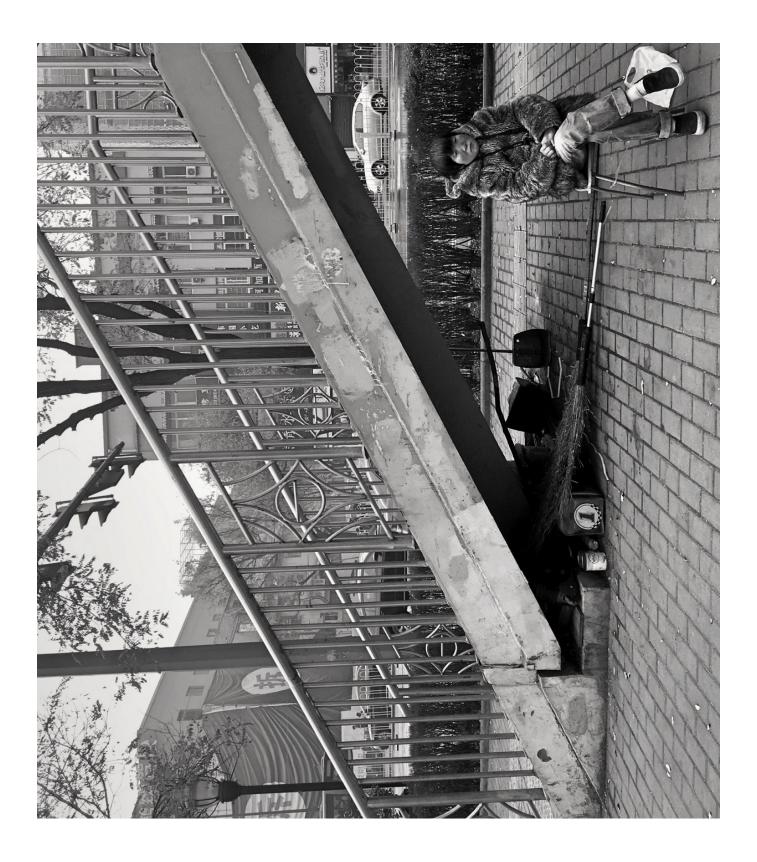










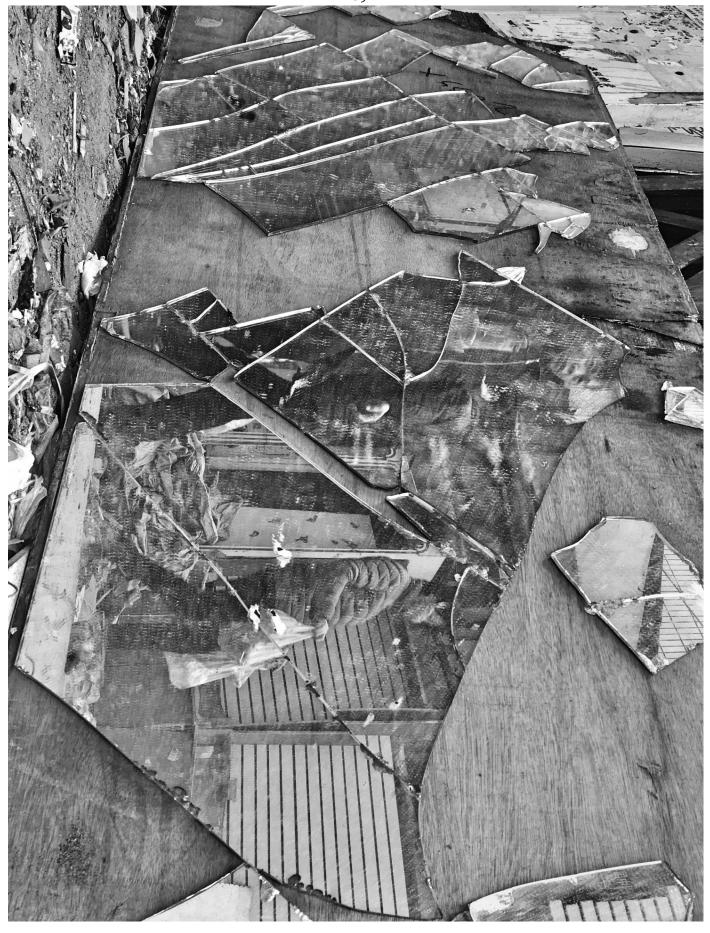








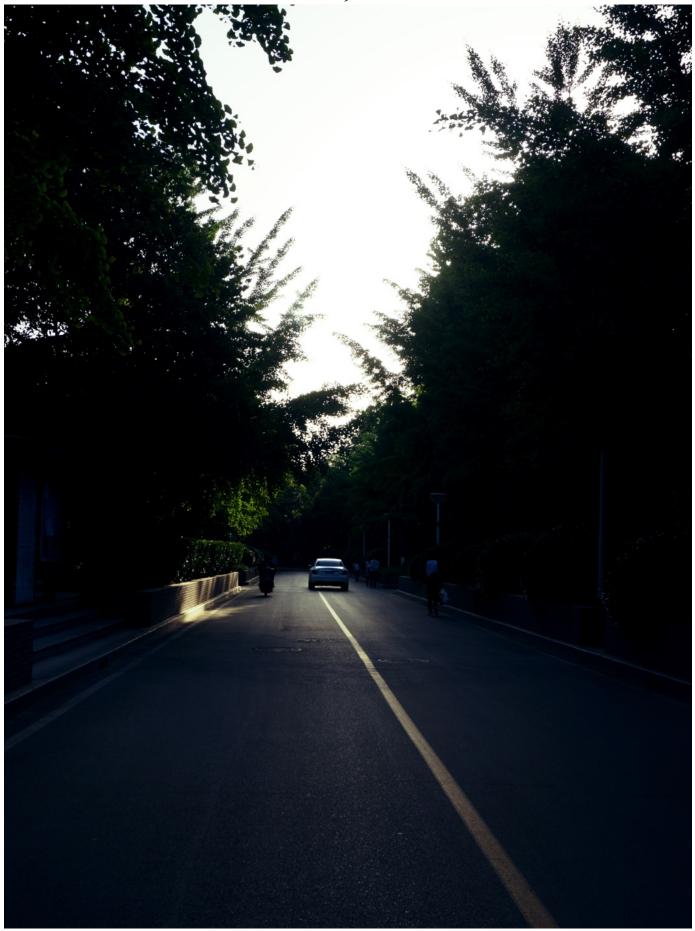




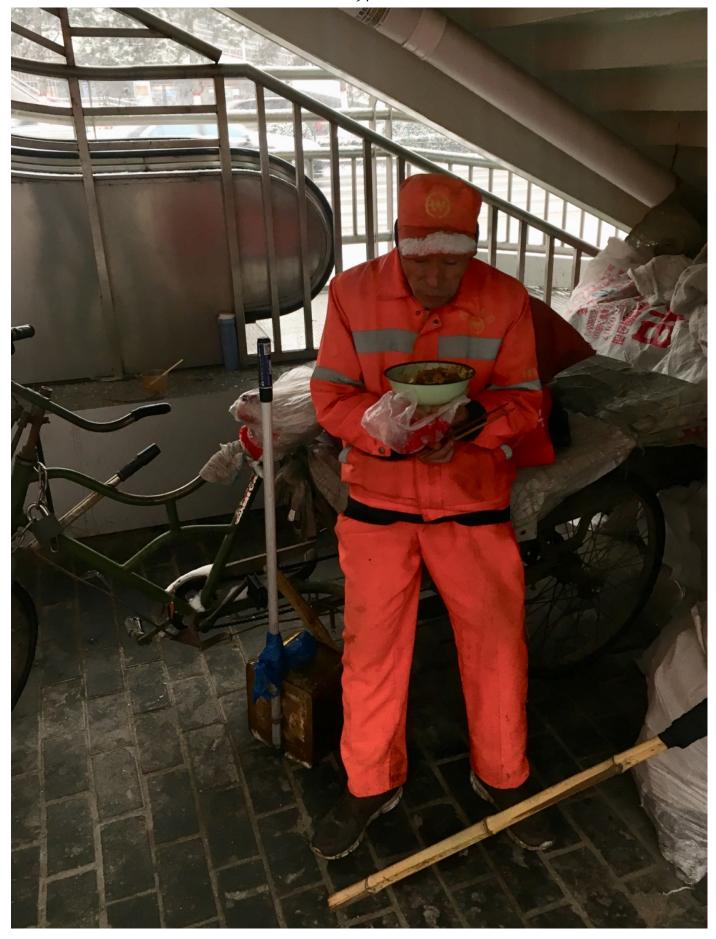


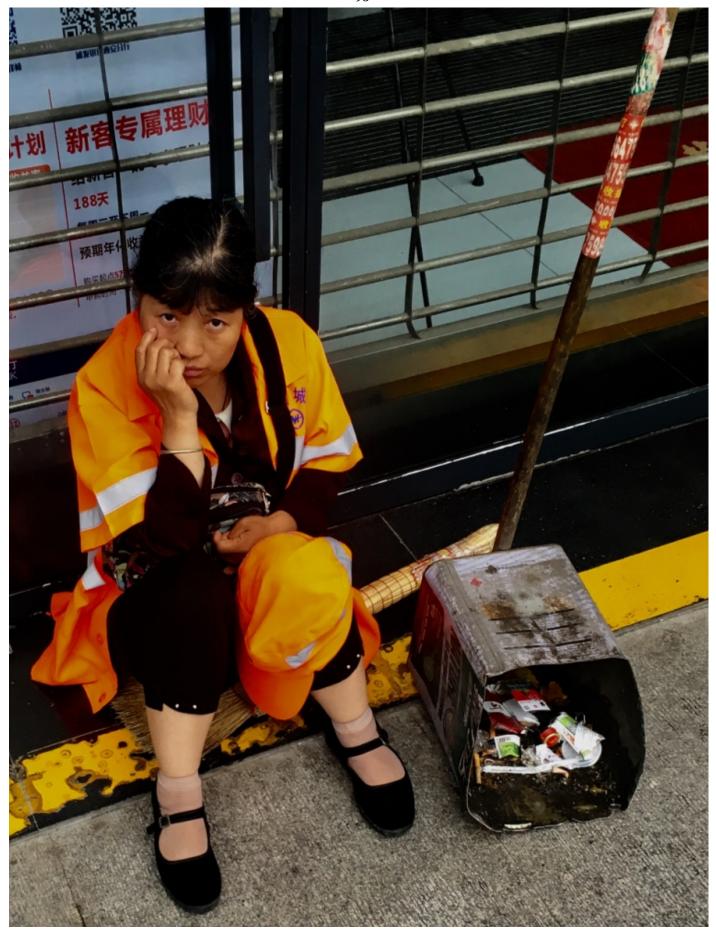




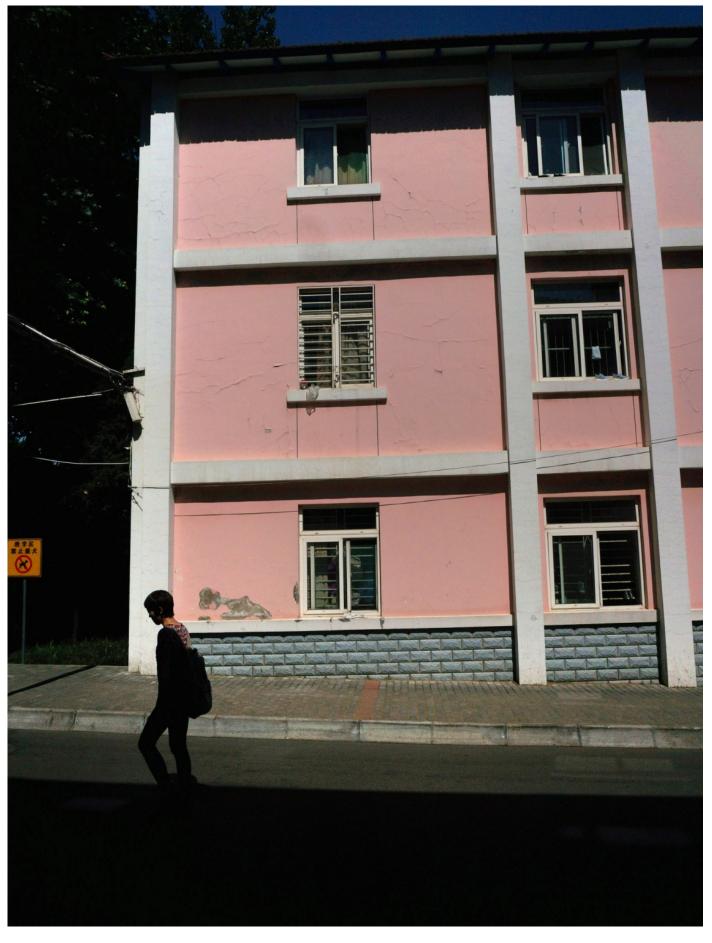






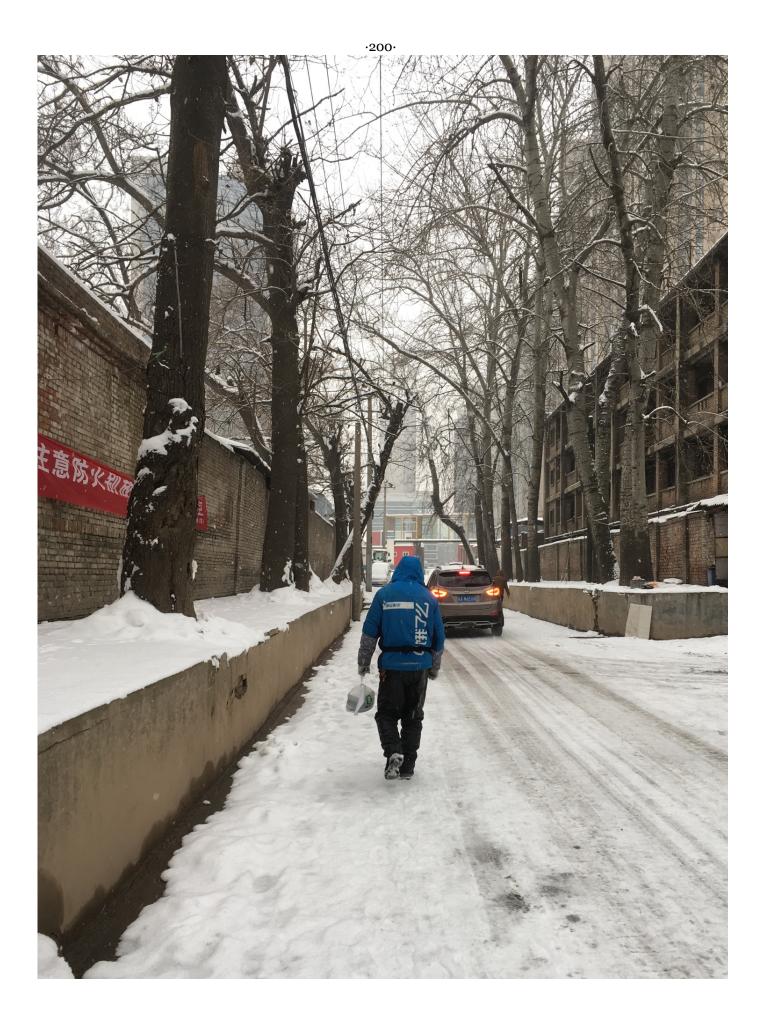


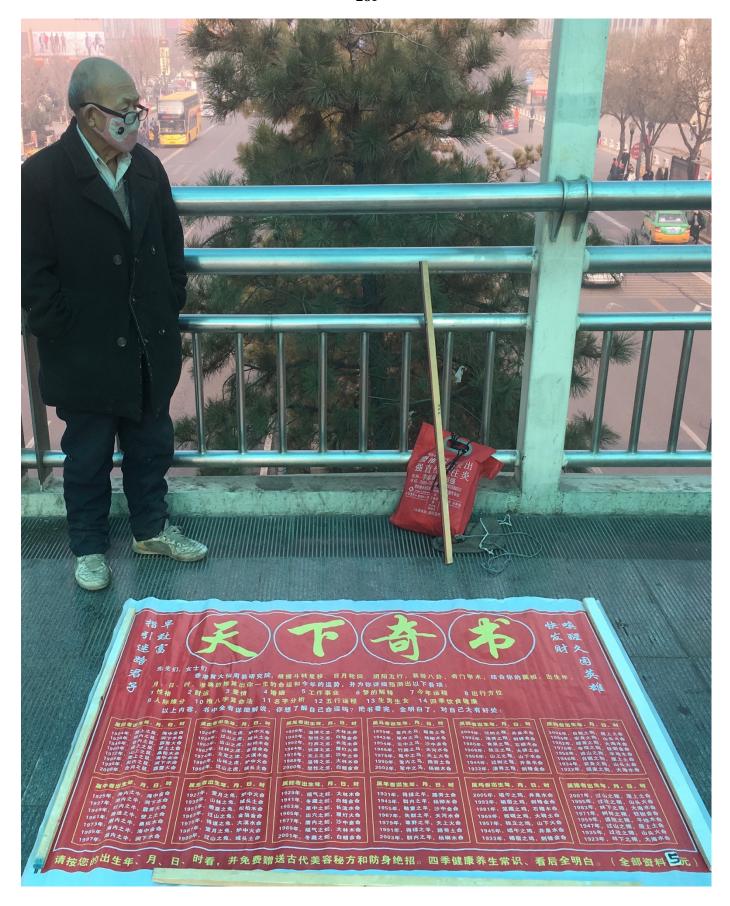




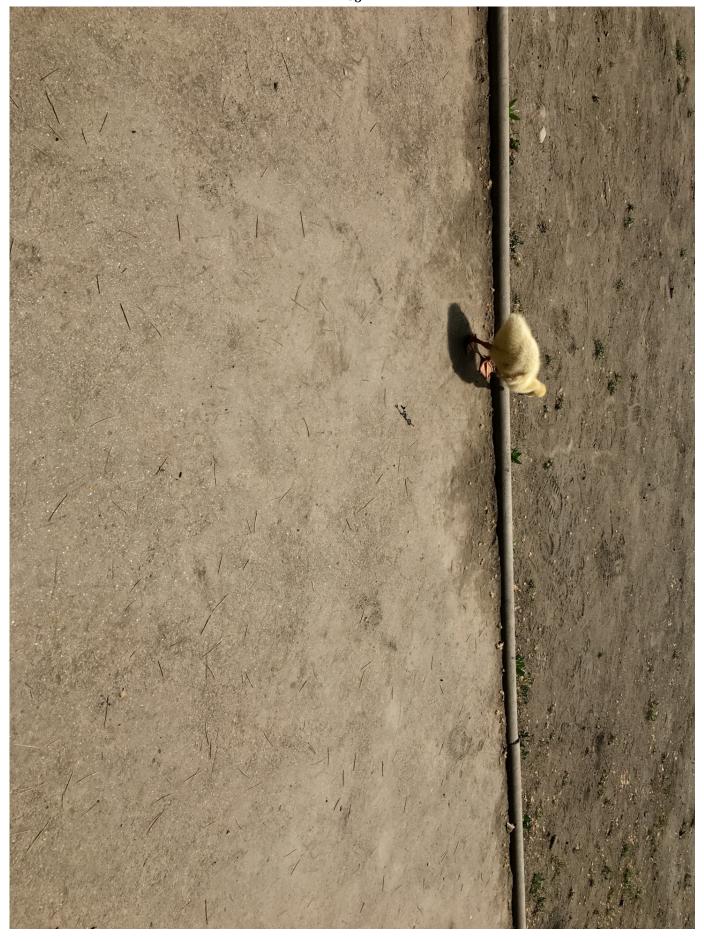




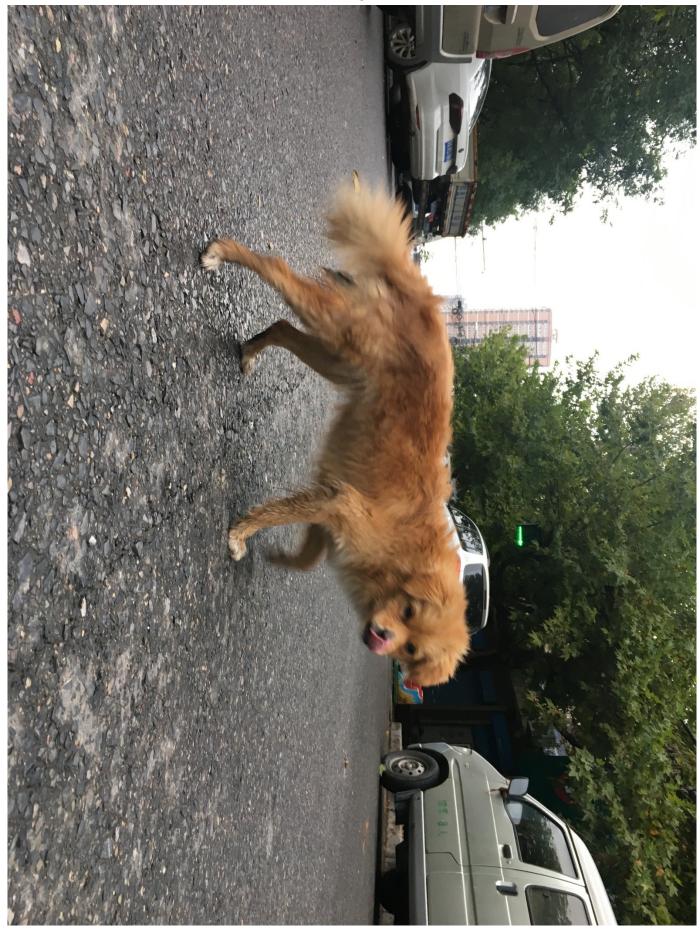




ANIMALS

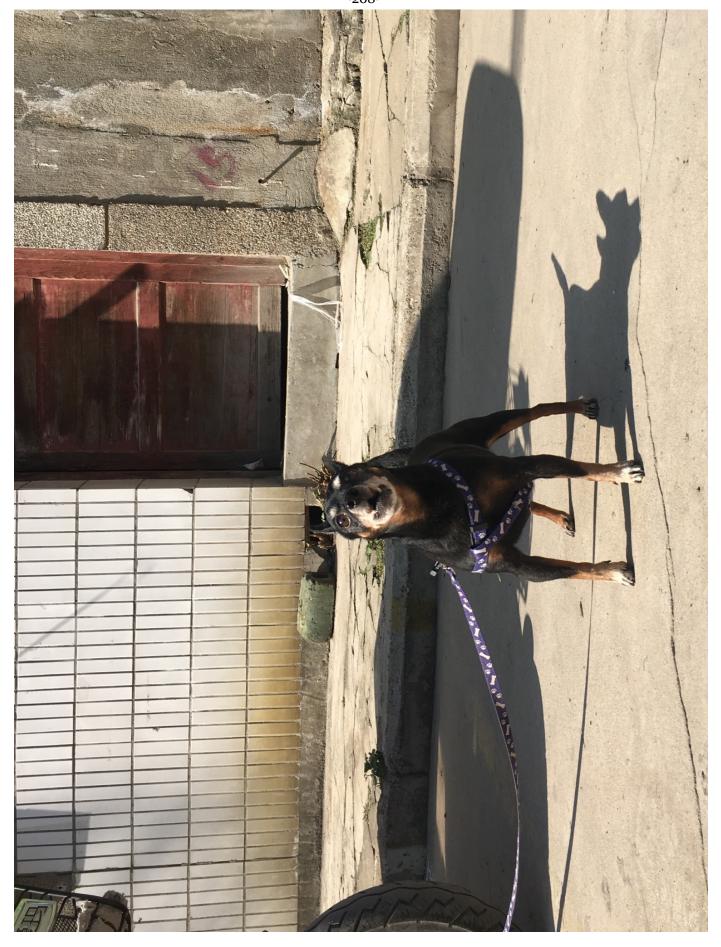








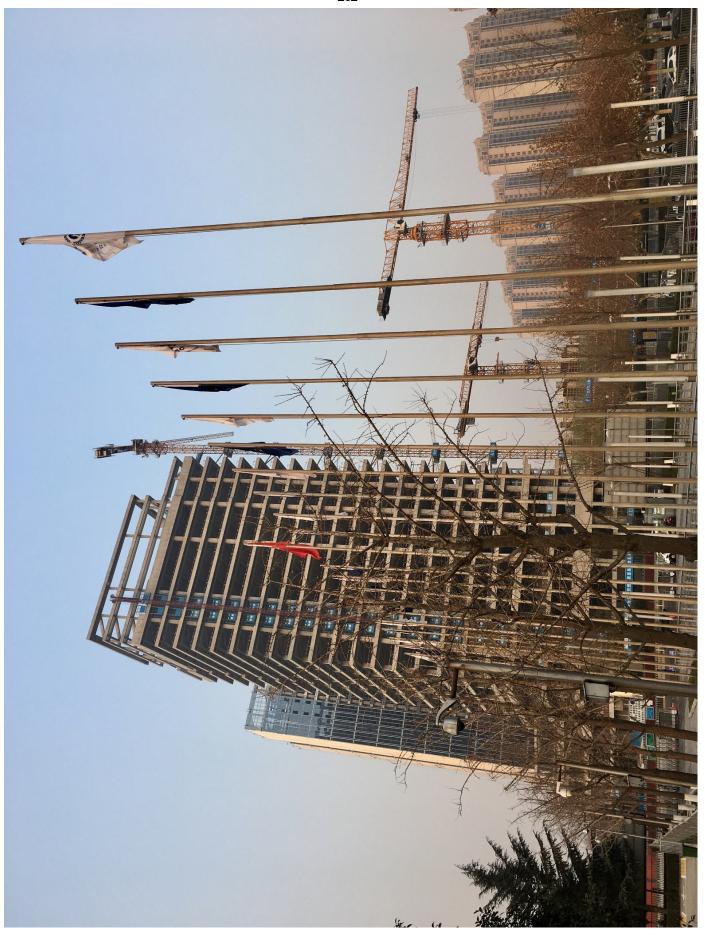






ARCHITECTURE

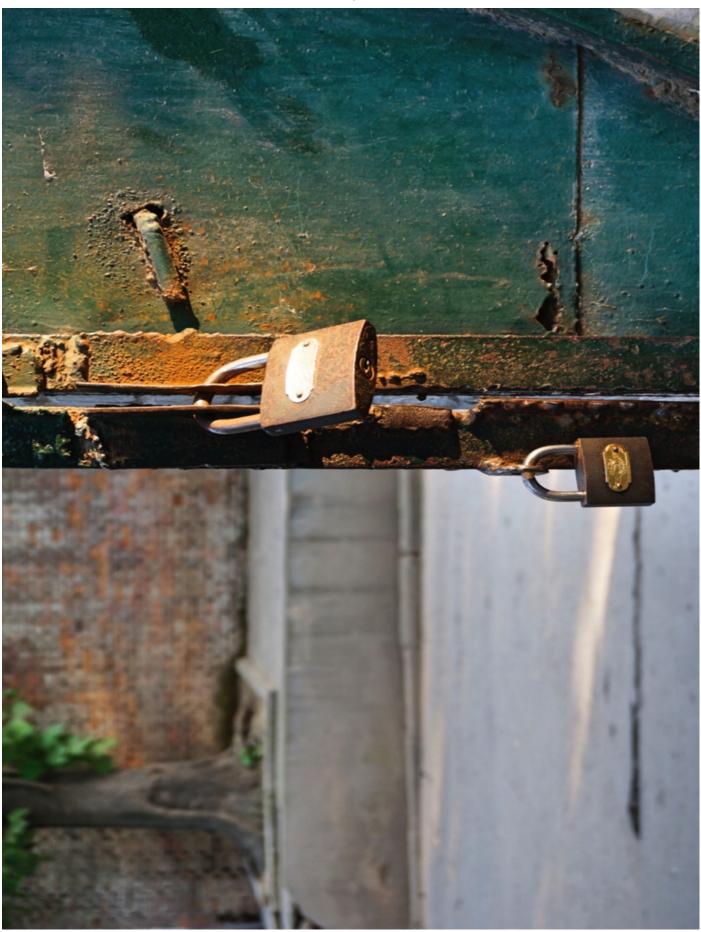






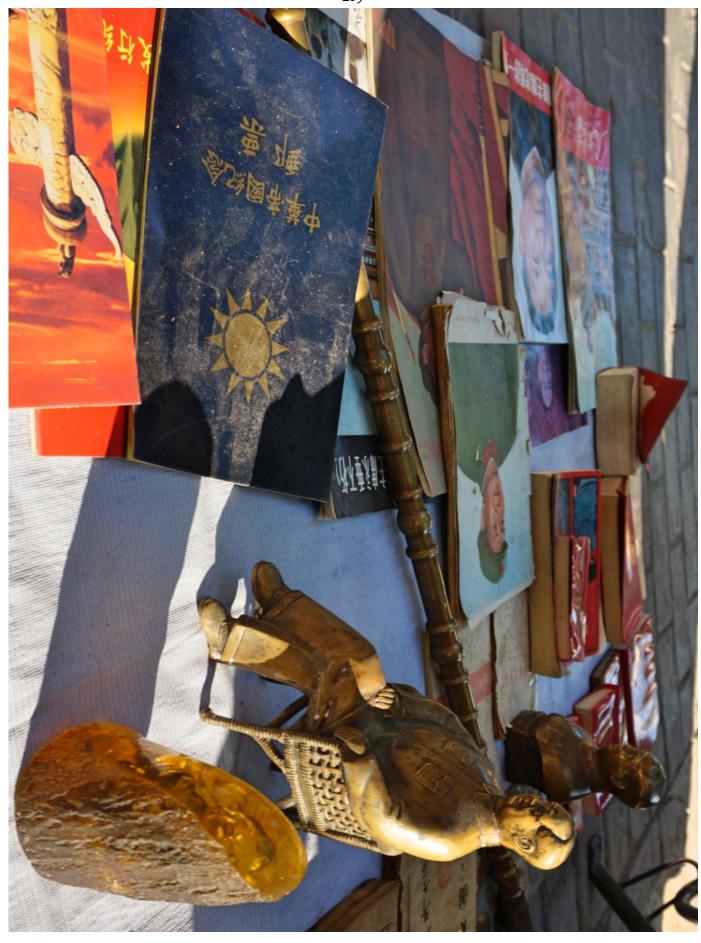






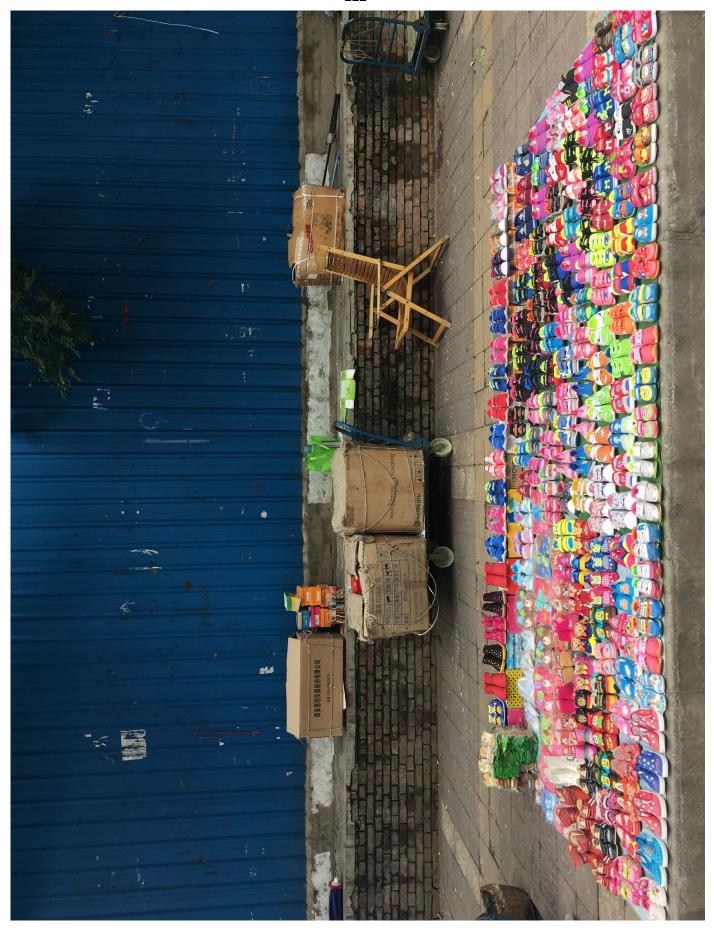


STREETS























FLOWERS



CAPTIONS

PART ONE: MGO LOG, NGA WA (ABA), AND RMA CHU (MAQU)1

SELF-PORTRAITS

[1/29]² SELF-PORTRAIT. A difficult thing is to find myself. Who am I? What am I doing? What is my dream? So many questions and pressures (2016).

[2/30] SELF-PORTRAIT. My friend is inspecting his face. Meanwhile, I saw my face. It is so small (2016).

[3/31] SELF-PORTRAIT. This image reminds me of my identity and my insignificance (2016).

[4/32] SELF-PORTRAIT. I am in the mirror (2016).

[5/33] SELF-PORTRAIT. I look at my own reflection in the window. I hate me more than you hate me (2016).

[6/34] TREADMILL. Before I came to Xi'an City I had never heard of gyms. Someone recommended that I go to a gym to become more muscular. When I was at home, I did a lot of exercise without using exercise machines (2016).

[7/35] SELF-PORTRAIT. Who am I? Who are you? (2016).

TIBETAN CHILDREN

[8/37] GHOSTS! Khang sar jo nang (Kangsai jiaonang) Monastery, Gcig sgril (Jiuzhi) County, Mgo log (Guoluo) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, located in the southeast of Mtsho lho (Qinghai) Province, is about 600 kilometers southeast of Zi ling (Xining) City, the provincial capital. I finished having a class with some children who were this little monk's age. I then went to this little monk's home and had lunch. He also had finished his class in the monastery school and had come home for lunch. When he arrived, he immediately turned on the television and began watching cartoons without his grandmother's permission. After taking this photo, I thought, "The attraction of cartoons is very powerful, though the characters are only loosely

¹ The Tibetan captions and English captions differ.

² The first number indicates photo number. The second number indicates the page number of that photo.

³ 跑步机

⁴健身房

based on reality, which makes them more attractive than reality" (Khang sar jo nang Monastery, Gcig sgril County, 16 January 2017).

[9/38] PONDERING. When I took this photo, the boy was looking at the blackboard and trying to read English letters. It was his first time to study English, which he earnestly wanted to learn. I was reminded of a time in my local elementary school when my math teacher wrote a problem on the blackboard and told me to write an answer. I tried several times before I got it right (Khang sar jo nang Monastery, Gcig sgril County, 16 January 2017).

चश्रमानित्त्र । द्रिश्च । प्रक्रमानित्र विवास कर्मा विवास करा विवास करा विवास कर्मा विवास कर्मा विवास करा वि

[10/39] THE GIRL KEPT POPPING HER GUM. (Khang sar jo nang Monastery, Gcig sgril County, 16 January 2017).

सुर्**शें कुर कुर प्राप्त में सेंदे गार प्राप्त माना किया कुर्या १००० १००० १००० सकें र्थे व विर केव समें विया मुख्य मिले में सेंदा विर स्वर प्राप्त में विया मिले में सेंदा विर स्वर प्राप्त में सेंदा विर सेंदा विर**

[12/41] NOMAD CHILD. My family's summer camp in Khang sar Township is located in the southeast of Mtsho lho Province, about twenty kilometers southeast of Gcig sgril County Town. My nephew, Gu ru skyabs (b. 2012), plays with a stick. When I was his age, I lived with my parents near Stag lung Monastery. When I was a child, I often did not wear clothes, especially in summer. At that time, my skin was much darker than my nephew's. He has many more toys than

I ever had (Rdo ra Valley is my family's herding land, Khang sar Township, Gcig sgril County, 2016).

[13/42] SLINGSHOT. My nephew and I drove the yaks home one evening. When he swung his mother's slingshot, I took this photo. Noticing my cellphone, he said, "Please give me your phone. I want to look at the pictures in your phone."

I asked, "What is a phone?"

He answered, "We can look at pictures in our phone and we can also WeChat."

I asked, "What is WeChat?"

He said, "You talk to others for example, 'What are you doing?' 'Where are you?'"

After this conversation, I thought about WeChat. I knew he never used WeChat so how did he know about WeChat? I began to use WeChat in about 2013.

We often used slingshots while herding yaks. Once when I was six years old, I went to drive the sheep home. I took a slingshot and shot at the sheep. My older brother saw me. When I got home, he scolded, "You disobedient little boy. I told you not to take your slingshot when you herded our sheep. Do you know why?"

"I don't know," I murmured, my legs shaking. It was the first time he had scolded me.

"Sheep are weaker than yaks and are also easier to herd," he explained (Rdo ra Valley which is my family's herding land, Khang sar Township, Gcig sgril County, 2016).

लिया दे. कुर्या में स्ट्रा क्ष्या में स्ट्रा क्ष्या क्ष्य

[14/43] SWEET SMILE. Kirti Monastery, Rnga ba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, is located in the northwest of Sichuan Province, about 480 kilometers northwest of Chengdu City. I and some family members, including my mother, were on pilgrimage. While we were circumambulating the monastery, this boy ran back and forth between the temple shadows and the sunshine (Kirti Monastery, 3 January 2017).

[15/44] BRIGHT. Nine AM, very cold outside. Everybody wore thick clothes as they busily circumambulated. I saw a little girl following behind me. Her face was very cold and her cheeks were as red as apples. After that moment, I wondered, "Who encouraged her to circumambulate the temple?" "Does she understand how circumambulation is beneficial?" "Why is she doing this?" "What is she thinking?"

When I was little, I stayed with my parents at our local monastery. We often circumambulated the temples in the monastery. I was just like this little girl, imitating older people. I understood nothing about religion, belief, and why I was doing it (Kirti Monastery, 3 January 2017).

[16/45] LITTLE CIRCUMAMBULATOR. When I was a child, I lived with my parents near the local monastery and often attended spiritual instruction in the early morning. In winter, the weather was minus twenty to minus twenty-five degrees. My parents put dried grass in our shoes as shoe pads. I cried when my feet were cold and then my parents told me to run around the temple courtyard where the monks debated. As my feet warmed up, my tears dried (Kirti Monastery, 3 January 2017).

「ちょる、私有利、愛子、養利、利、治、可養を、日本、可利と、日発、過の、知、商用、因利、私で、」 「2006」 ま、日、養を、」 し

[18/47] A LITTLE MONK AND A LITTLE BOY RIDE HORSES NEAR THE *BSANG KHRI*. I went to Bar bzhi Township where Mgon po worked for the government. He said, "I have worked in most of the townships in Gcig sgril County for twenty years. Bar bzhi Township is the most traditional. Many people still wear sheepskin robes and traditional boots like those I wore as a child."

One hot summer day, I and Tshe brtan grazed sheep on the mountain. That afternoon, there was a very heavy rain. Our boots got wet. We couldn't walk easily because the boots soles were soft. Mother and Tshe brtan are good at sewing so if we got some materials, we didn't worry about not having new clothes. Now, people have plenty of material, but many don't know how to make clothes and boots (Gcig sgril County, Bar bzhi Township, 2017).

हरायर्वेरमा हरायर्वेरमा हरायर्वेरमा हेरावेरमा हेरावेरमारा हित्रमा वाहायर्वे मार्थे के स्वाप्त के स्वाप्त के स्व

[19/48] TWO BOYS PLAYING WITH WIND-HORSES. I asked Mother, "Did you play with wind-horses when you were a child? Did you see children playing with wind-horses?"

Mother replied in surprise, "No, I never played with wind-horses and I didn't see other children playing with them either. Our time was not like today. There were few wind-horses and if we played with them, elders scolded and beat us" (Gcig sgril County, Bar bzhi Township, 2017).

⁵ श्री.योड्रेश.स्.स..बूच.स.ज.पत्त्र्रस्थ.येश.बुस

⁶ हेवे प्रस्ति या बिंदा यापदा ग्रीश महाया हैवे विहास महाया महारा महासे म

श्चेतार्ह्र्ट्रन्यर्ग्यवेत्युवार्क्षे

[20/49] MOTHER AND SON. The mother was counting money given by others while her son plays with a ball (Rnga ba County, Sichuan, 2016).

[21/50] FATHER AND SON. In 2003, Father, one of my nieces (Dpal ldan skyid), and I took a room in the local county town. It was my first time to stay in a hotel and I was very excited. There was no toilet in the hotel. In the evening, we went out looking for a toilet. Father tied an empty bag to a metal trellis in front of our hotel gate to mark the location of our hotel so we would not get lost (Gcig sgril County, Bar bzhi Township, 2017).

[22/51] A BABY AND A WHITE BILLIARD BALL. Billiards is a popular game in my home community. Most jobless men do not speak Chinese well and also do not write Tibetan well. Many of them like billiards and join competitions every year. My cousin, Tshe dbang (b. 1991), is very good at billiards. He plays in different places and is often a winner. If he had a professional trainer, he could be a great billiard player.

Many local elders object to billiards. They say things like, "Don't play billiard! If you do, your next life will not be good. The six holes symbolize Hell, the realm of hungry ghosts, animals, deities, demigods, and humans. Don't not play it or you'll go to Hell."

Local elders truly believe in Hell. Many young people do not. If local elders see someone playing billiards, some say that person is bad. When I was a child, many people believed this. Now, this idea has vanished and local elders enjoy watching billiard matches on TV (Gcig sgril County Town, 2017).

TIBETAN ELDERS

[23/53] FAITH. One cold, windy day at Khang sar jo nang Monastery, Aunt 'Od sgrol (b. ~1930) covered her face to protect her eyes from the strong wind and dust. She chanted *ma Ni* while turning a prayer wheel. She didn't realize that I was photographing her. When I look at this photo, I better understand what my grandparents looked like and what they often did, and I feel their powerful belief in Buddhism (Khang sar jo nang Monastery, Gcig sgril County, 16 January 2017).

[24/54] PROGRESS. I took this photo as I was circumambulating Kirti Monastery. These pilgrims' feet continuously move forward, giving them a sense of purpose and accomplishment (Kirti Monastery, 3 January 2017).

चैत्र **केंत्र मित्र मित्र में**त्र में केंद्र मेंद्र में केंद्र मेंद्र में केंद्र में केंद्र मेंद्र मे

[25/55] PRESENT, LISTEN, BENEFIT. This elderly couple will listen to religious debate on the second day of Smon lam chen mo (Kirti Monastery, 3 February 2017).

[26/56] AN OLD MAN AND HIS HORSE. When I was child, people rode horses and yaks. There were few motorcycles and cars. My family first had a motorcycle in 1998 and a car in 2005. Today, most families have a car and motorcycle. Few people ride horses and yaks (Gcig sgril County, Bar bzhi Township, 2017).

[27/57] TWO OLD MEN AND A BOY. Woolen robes and white Tibetan shirts are familiar to me, but I doubt that my children and their children will wear them. My nephews and nieces prefer to wear Nike, Coco Chanel, and Adidas much more than traditional robes and Tibetan shirts (Gcig sgril County, Bar bzhi Township, 2017).

TIBETAN CULTURE & LIFE

[28/59] AN OLD MAN OFFERING WIND-HORSES. Mother told me that when she was a child, there were few wind-horses because they had to make wind-horses by themselves and it was difficult to buy paper and ink, and print them. Now it is totally different. If you have money you can buy as many as you want.

On 30 August 2017, I was in Bar bzhi Township for a big local gathering. Locals had invited a high-ranking *bla ma*. They offered incense to the local deity, Gser khrab. Everybody held wind-horses and offered them to the sky while chanting *bsang mchod*. Young people couldn't recite it because they had not memorized it. Some people read *bsang mchod* from little books (Gcig sgril County, Bar bzhi Township, 2017).

वर्षः हुरः हः ररः वीर्षः द्यरः द्वेषिषः वे रेदः वेर । द्वा १००० । विव्वाः श्रेषः हेरः वरः विवे । धुषः हें। रे

[29/60] CIRCUMAMBULATION. The intensity and sense of purpose locals displayed while circumambulating inspired me to also do many circumambulations (Kirti Monastery 3 January 2017).

भूम् न विष्युः भूम क्षेत्र क्षेत्र

[30/61] ENTERING. I saw this monk entering a small back door of Kirti Monastery. After I took this image, I looked at it thoughtfully. It gave me a sense of comfort that stems from my Buddhist belief and the respect I have for *bla ma* and monks (Kirti Monastery, 3 January 2017).

कुन न्वन्य र १०१२ १.३ वे विंत वेट केव सन हैं र मेहिन ने व

[31/62] PROSTRATION. Two local women prostrate around the monastery complex in the afternoon. Many prostrations are believed to bring a more successful future. However, young people worry that prostrations will dirty their clothing. I'm sure prostrations will not lead to anything negative (Kirti Monastery, 3 February 2017).

यदिशयः तुर्वे व्याः शहूरः यथः रेताः व्याः कथः यथ्ये यथः तुर्वे व्याः व्यः व्याः व्य

[32/63] RITUAL PROCESSION. These monks circumambulated the Assembly Hall three times. Though the names of the religious implements and their specific functions are unknown to many devoted local Buddhists, the monks are much respected. The person who believes in Buddhism and their *bla ma* is considered to be a good person (Kirti Monastery, 3 January 2017).

श्रेर पद्धेर मृ म् मा के श्रेर पद्धेर पु से नश्र मित्र मित्र से श्रेश में कि प्रमा से नश्र मित्र मित्

[33/64] SAMSARA. I thought about the cycle of death and rebirth. What I see in this photograph faithfully represents locals' belief. In 2017, many poor people rode yaks on pilgrimage to local monasteries, especially a family who had no man to operate a motorcycle or car. Even though a family might be able to operate a vehicle, they are reluctant to buy one without a man in the family who can operate it.

When I was a child, Mother told me, "Today, it is very convenient to go to a hospital and the monastery quickly by car and motorcycle. When I was a child, we rode yaks and horses. It took six or seven hours to go from our summer camp to the monastery. Now, we only need around one and half hours. Isn't it amazing?" (Khang sar jo nang Monastery, Gcig sgril County, 16 January 2017).

मणमा-म-न-पश्चिम-इन्म २ श्र. क्री. क्ष्या-विका-प्रदेश क्ष्या-क्ष्य-क्ष-क्ष्य

[35/66] G.YUNG DRUNG. *G.yung drung* means 'unchanging' and *g.yung drung* are often seen at weddings. Imagine that your daughter will marry. The two concerned families choose an auspicious date. On that day, your family sends your daughter to the groom's home. Before your daughter gets in a car or mounts a horse, a *g.yung drung* has been made on a piece of felt using barley and rice grain nearby.

However, Mother told me, "I never saw this. When I was much younger, food was everything for us. Nowadays, people don't worry much about food. They think at least, they can earn enough money so food is not a problem'" (one kilometer from Khang sar stag lung Monastery, 24 February 2018).

(१००१) यहचा हुता ह्र- हेच अप अप प्रमान में अप क्षेत्र क्षेत्र

[36/67] AN ELECTRICAL ENGINEER. A Chinese man listening to a local performance in Tibetan (Gcig sgril County, 2017).

[37/68] BOOTS. Temple attendees do not wear boots, especially when chanting scriptures. The boots are similar, making it challenging to locate one's own pair after temple rituals (Kirti Monastery, 3 January 2017).

[8. \$\frac{2}{4}. \frac{2}{4}. \frac{2}{4}. \frac{2}{4} \frac{2}{4}. \frac{2}. \frac{2}{4}. \frac{2}. \frac{2}{4}. \frac{2}. \frac{2}{4}. \frac{2}{4}. \frac{2}{4

⁷ वर्डेना मार्क्क में मार्च मार्च हो वर्डे समायमाय केंद्र में पुरा के नामा माने मार्च मार्

[38/69] A HERDSWOMAN DRIVES A MOTORIZED CART. Rma chu County is an administrative district in Kan lho (Gannan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Kan su'u (Gansu) Province. It is unusual to see local herdswomen operating a car, motorcycle, or motorized cart (Rnga ba County, 2016).

[39/70] MUSLIM WOMAN. This woman sells various bread that she made (Rnga ba County, 2016).

प्रकेष संदेश में किया विकास स्वाधित स् स्वाधित स

[40/71] METAL SMITHS. Temple decorations are often made by nonlocal metal smiths (Rnga ba County, 2016).

विवाह्या (१०१६ इ.स.हूरा)

[41/72] Lab rtse. A cairn where incense is burned as offerings to deities (Kirti Monastery, 3 January 2017).

(१०००) ४ ४ अ. ब्रिंच. ब्रुच. हर्म. ब्रुच. हर्म. ब्रुच. वर्म. वर्म. वर्म

TIBETAN ARCHITECTURE

[42/74] SUNSET. Sunsets make me think about what I really want, for example what should I do tomorrow. When I was a child, an elder said, "Pink clouds in the evening is fire and pink clouds in the morning is water."

लका क्षेत्र क्ष्मा च्रमा क्ष्मा क्ष्म

[43/75] RED. An Assembly Hall corner. Around 3,000 monks lived together, chanting scriptures and listening to high-ranking *bla ma* teach Buddhism (Kirti Monastery, 3 January 2017).

(5) [43/75] RED. An Assembly Hall corner. Around 3,000 monks lived together, chanting scriptures and listening to high-ranking *bla ma* teach Buddhism (Kirti Monastery, 3 January 2017).

(5) [43/75] RED. An Assembly Hall corner. Around 3,000 monks lived together, chanting scriptures and listening to high-ranking *bla ma* teach Buddhism (Kirti Monastery, 3 January 2017).

नर्गेवा रे

[44/76] GOLDEN ROOF. Grass grows on the roof of an old assembly hall. Though there was a new, large assembly hall for all the monks, this old assembly hall was still used (Kirti Monastery, 3 January 2017).

देन्त्रम्थार्थ्यः प्रतास्त्रम् विनाहेन्त्रे अर्थेन् वेन्या देन्त्र विनास्त्र विनास्त्

[45/77] STUPAS. My mother respects stupas and believes that they are very important. If I say anything critical of religion or religious personalities, she is upset and scolds me (Kirti Monastery, 3 January 2017).

अर्केन हेन र १०१२ १.३ शिक्षित विर केत सम्बर्धित में निर्मात

[46/78] A BIG TRUCK. Mother told me, "When I was child, we used yaks to transport soil and stones. Sometimes we didn't have yaks so we carried soil and stones by ourselves to build rooms or temples for the local monastery. Now, trucks are used instead of yaks and people" (Sog ru ma Township, Gcig sgril County, 2017).

र्ट्र भीता प्रत्यात्वर्द्धर भूच भारत्यात्व त्यात्व त्यात्व देश स्थात्व त्यात्व त्यात्व त्यात्व त्यात्व त्यात्व भूभ भीता प्रत्यात्वर्द्धर भूच भारत्या प्रत्यात्व त्यात्व त्यात्व

[47/79] DOOR HANDLE AND LOCK. If a person is accused of wrong-doing, for example, stealing livestock, that person might grasp a temple door handle/knocker and declare to a high-ranking monk that they are not guilty of what they have been accused. Locals are afraid of lying in such circumstances. They believe if they do lie, then they may suffer misfortune or even die (Kirti Monastery, 3 January 2017).

द्धणभासार | रास्ता हो भारा प्रेक्ष प्रभाद में विषय प्रस्ता विषय प्रस्ता के अपने का स्त्री के अपने का स्त्री के अपने का स्तर्भ के अपने का स्त्री के अपने का स्त्री के अपने का स्त्री के अपने के अपने का स्त्री के अपने का स्त्री के अपने का स्त्री के अपने के अपने का स्त्री का स्त्री के अपने का स्त्री के अपने का स्

[48/81] STREET DOGS. Dogs have a special place in local culture. Elders say, "Dogs help protect our yaks and sheep from wolves, especially at night," and "Bad luck will come to those who sell their dogs." We also do not eat dog meat.

When I was a child, my family moved to our summer pasture. On the way, an old female dog followed us so we adopted her. Unfortunately, my oldest brother's oldest daughter began to have headaches. Older Brother then went to the monastery and consulted a *bla ma*, who divined and said, "A dog has had malevolent influence on your daughter," and told us to chant some scriptures.

Two days later, Brother returned home. The same morning, Mother went outside to milk the yaks. The old dog was curled up and covered with light snow. Thinking something was wrong with the dog, she called to her, but there was no reaction. She had died.

Dogs look at people eating in a restaurant and seem to be asking for food. Homeless dogs are a problem. How can this problem be solved? (Rnga ba County, 2016)

हिक्स न्दे का न्दे

[49/82] MY FAMILY'S CATS. These two cats were given by two different families to my family two years ago. Now they are friendly with each other (Winter Camp, Kangsai Township, Gcig sgril County, 2018).

[51/84] WATCH DOG. "Symbols and weddings are famous, dogs and children are hungry," is a proverb. I took this photo at a relative's wedding. There are many weddings after Lo sar because families buy a lot of drinks and food for Lo sar. After Lo sar, they use leftovers at weddings.

Beginning in 2008, locals stopped preparing meat for weddings, Gya ston, Chos ston, and other gatherings. *Bla ma* and scholars told locals that slaughtering many animals for such gatherings was not good. Many locals agreed.

Those who follow this rule say, "Before, we had to kill two or three yaks or sheep for a wedding and other gatherings. Actually, we didn't need to kill these animals and we have now stopped this" (one kilometer from Khang sar stag lung Monastery, 24 February 2018).

[52/85] A FEMALE COW. In 2018, my family had three female cows and a bull. We got more milk from female cows than female yaks, which is why we fed them vegetables, and leftovers, even if chili was in it. I was surprised that female cows ate such food when I was a child. I found that the cows were more docile than yaks. I liked them and I tied a holy knot around my favorite

⁸ ग्रेशमवे:र्नेव।

female cow's neck, hoping it would protect her from wolves and other dangers. My nephews and nieces are different. They rarely go near female cows. Instead they watch TV and play games on smart phones (Winter Camp, Kangsai Township, Gcig sgril County, 2018).

XI'AN CITY: PEOPLE & LIFE

PART TWO: XI'AN CITY

[53/88] UYGHUR BOY. For entertainment, a Uyghur boy from a rural area in Xinjiang fetches water. I was also raised in the countryside and enjoyed playing with jars, plastic bottles, soil, stones, and so on. One of my nephews was born in a county town where his parents have government jobs, so he has a lot of toys. Some are very expensive. I never had such toys nor had I even seen toys when I was a child. Once, when I went home from Xi'an City, he and I went to a shop in the County Town. He saw a toy car in a shop and begged me to buy it for him. Although it cost one hundred RMB, which was a lot of money for me, I bought it for him (2016).

[54/89] HOW MANY FISH? I watched an episode of Mr. Bean. One night he couldn't sleep. Feeling very bored, he turned on the TV, but it didn't work. Next, he found a picture of a flock of sheep and began to count them 1.2.3...34.35.36...and he soon went to sleep. Some families in my home community have a lot of sheep, but they never count them when they are bored (2016).

[55/90] NOBODY IS GETTING YOUNGER. No matter our age, we should love and care for each other (2016).

[56/91] LIFE IS NOT EASY. In a hospital, I saw many people from rural areas. They spoke their dialect to the nurses. They couldn't communicate very well. Some farmers wore old clothes. The nurses didn't like to interact with them. One reason was the language barrier. Another reason was that the nurses thought they were dirty. I realized that not only my locals, but many rural Chinese face challenges in interacting with doctors and nurses. I discovered that when someone denigrates me, I shouldn't argue. Instead, I should think about my own problems and how I can be better than them (2016).

[57/92] HOUSING RENTAL. I didn't pay attention to what the elders were talking about. I crossed the road to my apartment. I thought they were quite interesting and I took this picture. Many things are in this photo, but it is easy to dismiss them as small and inconsequential, for example, the chairs they sat on. But I think the old man was enjoying his chair (2016).

[58/93] BLACKSMITH. I took this photo near my apartment, which I and some friends rented for 1,300 *yuan* per month. This man was fixing his window (2016).

[59/94] FORTUNE TELLING. The bamboo tube is filled with chopsticks to choose from. The fortune-teller interprets the signs chosen. I have little understanding of fortune-telling. Various methods are used in telling fortunes.

I asked a Chinese teacher about fortune-telling when I was at university. She said, "*The Book of Changes* is scientific, but a particular fortune-teller may not really understand it."

I liked that answer. Some people scold fortune-tellers who offer their services by the street, saying that they are cheaters. Don't scold them. Ignore them if you don't believe them (2016).

[60/95] AN OLD MAN BASKING IN THE SUNSHINE. I often see old people near this street. Sometimes I talk to them about things that I am interested in, such as their lives. Some people don't like to answer my questions. Anyway, I still like to talk to them if they will talk to me (2016).

[61/96] "PLEASE BUY MY VEGETABLES." Many people like to buy things wrapped in beautiful plastic. This old lady sells vegetables very cheaply. Other vendors sell identical vegetables in a clean room. Many shoppers buy vegetables from those selling at high prices. Do you know why? (2016).

[62/97] GOING HOME. This old couple is walking home, but they aren't walking together. I followed them. The old lady went to an outpatient service. I followed. She wanted some medicine. I realized she couldn't see well. She looked at the medicine names closely. I helped her read. She said, "Thank you," in Shaanxi dialect.

A few minutes later she left. I followed her. We lived in the same residential quarter. Near the gate, there were seats where she sat. I sat by her. I had many questions, but I didn't ask her because some other old people were nearby. I had earlier talked to an old man in my own accented Chinese. He did not want to talk to me and looked at me very strangely. I sat near the old lady for almost five minutes, I gave her a bamboo shoot that someone had given me and then I left (2016).

[63/98] AN OLD MAN. Around eleven PM one winter night, I was preparing my lessons at a KFC. My apartment is cold in winter so KFC is a good place to study, and it is open twenty-four hours a day. I felt sleepy so I went outside. An old man was lying on the ground. I smelled liquor. I roused him, and helped him sit on a stairstep. He said, "I have a bus card for the elderly. It's very cheap - only three *jiao* each time."

I answered, "It's eleven PM. There's no bus. Do you know the phone numbers of any of your family?"

Eventually, he told me his daughter's phone number, but he spoke in a heavy local dialect. I didn't understand. A young woman my age understood and helped me phone his daughter. We waited for a half hour. He talked a lot about life. When I told him that I was Tibetan he said, "Tibetans are very fierce and like to fight. Don't fight and don't easily become angry."

I answered, "OK, I won't. Thank you!"

His daughter and her husband arrived. "Thank you very much," said the daughter. Her husband gave me one hundred *yuan*.

When I returned to my apartment, I remembered that I hadn't paid the one hundred *yuan* food fee. Mother told me when I was a child, "Helping others is helping yourself. Don't hesitate, just help, even if it is an ant that needs help" (2016).

[64/99] CLEAN AND TIDY. Try to be clean and tidy (2016).

[65/100] THINKING. Chew rtsam ba before you eat it and think before you speak (2016).

[66/101] AN OLD MAN RIDING A TRICYCLE. Pleasure (2016).

[67/102] MAN ON A TIRCYCLE. I had a bicycle when I was seven years old. My brother taught me how to ride it. Time passed and I could ride my bike by myself, but I needed his help to fix it when there was a problem. If you learn something from others, you must not forget it. And if you learn something, don't think you know everything. People need to help each other. Please help each other and when you learn something, don't think you know everything. That way we will all improve (2016).

[68/103] TWO OLD MEN READ BOOKS. (2017).

[69/104] TRADITIONAL AND NONTRADITIONAL. In the subway, there was a picture of a traditional Chinese couple outside of the window (2016).

[70/105] TOYS. Various toys are suitable for children, but everybody has a memory of a favorite toy. I had a toy when I was six years old. It was a vehicle and I imagined sitting on it, going here and there. I don't remember how I got it. What is your favorite toy? Why do you like it? If you buy a toy for your children, what kind of toy will you buy? Why? (2016).

[71/106] THANK YOU! Most students don't have their own money so each month their families send them money. When they see a beggar, they give a little money to them. Most people in my home community think those who don't know about Buddhism are dishonest. I don't like such ideas. People are different and we shouldn't distinguish good people from bad people based on ethnicity or religion. Once when I was talking to my former schoolmates on WeChat, some of them said, "You are a little Chinese boy. You don't know our Tibetan culture." If they notice something I write in Chinese or English, they think I am changing and may say negative things about me. I know that they do not really hate me. It is their habit to react this way (2016).

[72/107] WEIGHING A BAG WITH A STEELYARD. A collector of recyclables weighs a bag on a steelyard. They are weighing paper boxes inside this bag. A half-kilo of paper boxes earned two yuan (2016).

[73/108] TWO OLD MEN AND A SECURITY GUARD. When WeChat became popular, finding people online was possible. Some married people pretended they were single and then made terrible mistakes. Some even lost their family and children (2016).

[74/109] KIWI FRUIT, OWN PRODUCTION, NO CHEMICALS. In choosing what to eat, small changes can make a big difference. We should think about the food that is good for our health. When I first came to Xi'an City I was addicted to fast food and junk food. When I was in Chengdu City with some of my best friends, we spent a week drinking beer and eating junk food such as skewers of anonymous meat with a lot of chili. Around five or six AM, we were very drunk and would return to our hotel and sleep. We then got up around six or seven PM. I don't even remember the sun shining. I regret that. We didn't pay attention to what food was good for us and we didn't manage our time well. I am changing and trying to eat only food that is good for me (2016).

[75/110] A YOUNG COUPLE. Being single is sometimes the happiest thing (2016).

\$\frac{3}{3}\frac{3}\frac{3}{

[76/111] A CLEANER. I estimate he is about fifty years old. I didn't talk to him. He collects cigarette butts and so on. I didn't know how much money he earns in a month. A friend told me that if you collect thirty cigarette butts, you could buy a cinema ticket (2016).

[77/112] FOLDING BAGS. I like to talk with those that many consider poor or stupid. I can learn many things from them. They often speak very directly and clearly (2016).

[78/113] BUSY MORNING. Sending kids to school in the morning along this street is a familiar sight. Every time I cross this street I see many different things. I enjoy so many varied interactions! People laugh. Sometimes they scold each other. I guess the same thing must happen elsewhere. This street is a good slice of human life (2016).

[79/114] A GRANDMOTHER SENDS HER GRANDDAUGHTER TO SCHOOL. Mother escorted me to the local primary school on a horse we shared. I once forced Mother to go on an asphalt road, because when our horse galloped, it made a nice sound. Mother sang spontaneously. When we got to the school, it was afternoon and we tied our horse to an electric pole. Mother entrusted a teacher to take care of me. The teacher's mother was my mother's friend.

Today, we take my nephews and nieces to school by car and motorcycle. When they return home, they don't hear their parents' songs. In fact, their parents don't know many songs. They also think that their songs are not good. Instead, they play Chinese and Tibetan songs on their mobile phones (2016).

[80/115] MOTHER AND SON. People are never equal. Happiness has limitations. I once saw a young couple scolding each other in a red BMW near the south gate of my school. At another time, I saw some old men working in an old truck. Each was smoking. Their cigarettes were cheap and their clothes were poor, but they were laughing and joking. What do you think? (2016).

[81/116] PUTTING BEER BOTTLES IN PLASTIC BAGS. Sometimes we do things that we don't like, but we have to (2016).

[82/117] A PUBLICIST. I don't like businesses that pay others to hand out fliers to passersby. Many such people stand near shops. Some are very attractive (2016).

[83/118] LUNCH TIME. Several vegetable sellers have lunch without going home (2016).

[84/119] SHAANXI GOAT MEAT. My family had a goat at the time Mother gave birth to my oldest brother. Some of my father's good friends in Rnga ba County were about to kill a goat. Father then gave them some money for the goat and brought the goat to our home. A few years later, the goat was killed by a wolf. We didn't eat the goat meat. We gave the goat meat to our friend. We were influenced by the saying, "Fresh goat meat causes chronic illness" (2016).

[85/120] A FAMILY AT THE ART MUSEUM. I like to go to art museums to see stimulating paintings, pictures, and so on. However, sometimes I feel bored but, at other times, I have Wow! moments (2016).

विभाशे के न्दर अद्भार्य र विभाषाव श्वा क्या प्रवेश क्रिंव प्राप्त र र विभाषाव श्वा क्या प्रवेश क्रिंव प्राप्त र

[86/121] A CLEANER AND HER TRICYCLE. I didn't question her. I took a picture of her. Everybody has difficulties, both, rich and poor. Sapiens have the ability to be happier than other creatures. Mother told me, "Scholars make big mistakes, and fools make small mistakes." We are smarter than yaks, sheep, elephants, and so on. They can't build buildings or make cars, and trains. We have power and then have more difficulties because we make mistakes that we know are mistakes, but we don't correct them. We are more powerful day by day, but are we happier day by day? (2016).

[87/122] A LITTLE GIRL RUNNING AWAY. When I was a child, I was afraid of getting lost when we went to circumambulate or a bit far from our home. I held Mother's hand. If there were few people, we were free to go everywhere and do whatever we liked. The childhood of modern children such as my nieces and nephews is very different from the childhood of my siblings. For example, my siblings used toys of stone, soil, and wood. My nephews and nieces play with expensive toys such as radio-controlled cars and dolls (2016).

[88/123] ENTER. Easy to start, difficult to finish (2016).

[89/124] FATHER AND DAUGHTER. "Come back, I won't argue with you." Don't apologize for what you are about to say (2016).

[90/125] MAN AND WOMAN. What is the difference between men and women? In my local community women do housework and men are expected to deal with other issues. There is a strong idea that women occupy a lower position than men. Many women accept this (2016).

[91/126] SEE, I AM DRINKING A BOTTLE OF BEER. My family elders don't want me to drink for good reason. They say, "If you drink too much, there will be fighting and other bad outcomes." Some of their reasons are also related to religion, which I don't understand yet (2016).

[92/127] THREE MEN AND A BICYCLE. Finding a favorite place and enjoying the moment is extremely excellent (2016).

[93/128] A COLLECTOR. He has no smartphone and does not beg from others (2018).

[94/129] MOTHER AND SON. The boy does his homework while his mother busily sells pork and chicken. My nephew, Sher rab rnam rgyal, is a student in the local primary school. I agreed to help him with his homework. He sends me WeChat messages when he has English homework. I don't want him to waste time. I also hope he has more time to play with others. If he doesn't finish the homework his teacher assigned, he will be punished. Also, his English teacher's English level is lacking. When I was at home, I found his pronunciation was poor. Do you force your children to do homework? Why? (2018)

[95/130] PHONING AND THINKING. When my mother was a child there were no mobile phones and electronic gadgets in our home community. People talked to each other face to face. Today, people use mobile phones and QQ, WeChat, and other communication platforms. Society is rapidly changing. Mother has vivid memories of old society. When I use WeChat near Mother, she is uncomfortable. I use my phone less when Mother is near. However, she likes electric pots, rice cookers, rechargeable lamps, and SLA batteries. "Why do you like these things and not cellphones?" I asked. She said, "I use these things when I need them, but you use your cellphone all the time" (2016).

[96/131] AN OLD LADY SELLS ROASTED CORN COATED WITH CHILI AND OIL. Do you care about your children's health? When I was a child, my parents sometimes gave my niece, Dpal ldan skyid, and me some money to buy things from a nearby store. They didn't care what we bought but, if we bought chili or soda, Mother said, "If someone gave me that, I wouldn't take it" (2018).

[97/132] A FOOD DELIVERER, TWO WORKERS, AND A LADY. What do you think when you see this picture? (2018).

[98/133] CHILDREN. I saw these children when I went to dinner with a friend who is from a herding area. When I showed him this photo, he said, "They remind me of my childhood," and told me many stories about his childhood. He concluded, "My childhood was the most unforgettable, happiest time of my life" (2016).

[99/134] RAINY, COLORFUL EVENING. I first came to Xi'an City in autumn. There were many rainy days. I was surprised to see how people avoided getting wet. Even a light rain was cause for concern. I noticed that once after class, I and another Tibetan student were the only ones without umbrellas. As we went to the school cafeteria for lunch, a classmate asked in surprise, "Why didn't you bring an umbrella?"

I replied, "I don't have an umbrella."

She said, "I can share my umbrella with you."

"No thanks, I'm fine!" I responded shyly.

When I was a child herding livestock on the mountains, it was normal to get wet from heavy rain so I didn't care much about getting wet (2016).

[100/135] AN OLD LADY, TWO WOMEN, AND TWO CHILDREN IN PRAMS. When I was a child, there were no prams and such things as nappies. Mother said, "I never use prams and nappies. Instead I used pashmina wool and ashes rather than diapers. Phyogs las rnam rgyal is my third child. He couldn't easily stand until he was four years old" (2017).

[101/136] A MUSLIM WOMAN AND HER DAUGHTER. Language is very powerful. Though, your religion is different when you talk to each other you feel good because your language is the same. When I hear a stranger speaking my language, I feel better than when I talk to someone who does not speak my language. Now, back to what I have to say about this photo, this woman's family opened a restaurant near my university. I like to eat there. Their food tastes like what we cook at home and they speak Tibetan (2017).

[102/137] AN OLD MAN AND HIS TRICYCLE. Many old people collect bottles and paper boxes in Xi'an City. I asked a woman in her fifties who was collecting bottles and paper boxes, "Why don't you find a job such as a doorkeeper or a cleaner?"

She responded, "I wouldn't be free. The boss would scold me. I prefer to collect these things. In fact, I can't earn a lot of money, but at least I am free" (2017).

[103/138] A BOOKSELLER MANIPULATES HIS MOBILE PHONE. I sometimes go to a bookstore near my apartment. I saw four children around ten years old there, noisily playing a phone game. I told my friend, "This is not good. Who are their parents?"

He replied, "I think their parents want that their children to be influenced by readers in this bookstore. They hope that their children will like to read books and not play phone games." I thought this was a very thoughtful explanation. What do you think?

My nephews and nieces are addicted to phone and computer games. Do you have any advice? (2017)

[104/139] WATCHING THREE LITTLE GIRLS PLAYING WITH A DOLL. Mother said, "When I was a child, my family never bought toys and I never asked elders to buy toys for me. Your elder brothers and sisters also did not ask me to buy toys. Your siblings' toys were stone, soil, and water. There were no toys in the shops and there were only several kinds of candy. Today, children don't need to ask others to buy toys for them. When you were a child, I spent 150 *yuan* to buy you a remote-control toy because your playmates had such toys" (2017).

[105/140] DRYING STREAMS. My oldest brother told me, "Every year, the small stream in our winter pasture decreases. We can hardly find water for our yaks and horses in winter. The river stops flowing in winter. The flow is very limited in summer. When I was child there was no problem with water" (2017).

[106/141] A WEDDING. Wedding photography is new to me. I never heard of wedding pictures until I came to Xi'an City. Chinese in cities like to take wedding pictures. This has also become popular in my home community. Yak hair tents are decorations for weddings. Nobody likes to stay in a yak hair tent except during a wedding (2018).

[107/142] FATHER AND DAUGHTER. Children in my home community spend a lot of time with their family members. Children in the cities are different. They spend much time in preschool and kindergarten (2018).

[108/143] A MAN, A MOTORCYCLE, AND HIS CELLPHONE. I was once addicted to my cellphone, which was bad for my study. Honestly, I still can't leave my cellphone alone, but I am trying to use it less. How many hours do you interact with your cellphone in a day? (2016).

[109/144] BEHIND THE WALL. I and three friends rented an apartment near this street for six months. I couldn't see what was behind the wall. One time, I saw a hole in the wall. A gray cat and a black dog were chasing each other. Their master told me that they had grown up together and never hurt each other. I went through the wall and found a lot of garbage and partially destroyed buildings. Many people living near this place were unaware of this. I then thought that many people don't care much about anything except themselves (2016).

[110/145] BROKEN WINDOW. I couldn't see clearly through this broken window. We can imagine many things, but we have difficulty in discerning reality (2016).

[111/146] LOTTERY. I learned about lotteries when I was seventeen and a student at Ra gya School. During one winter holiday I went home by private car, which took about ten hours. My former primary school classmates were waiting for me. We went to a restaurant for a meal. Afterwards, one classmate said, "Lottery tickets are very cheap, about two *yuan*. You get a chance to win."

Maybe he had won. I assumed that's why he was so enthusiastic. Anyway, we went to the lottery shop, though most of us had little idea about lotteries. His family lived in the county town and he knew more about the county town than the rest of us. We were from herding areas and spent little time in the county town. At the lottery shop, he took two *yuan* from his pocket. The plump, short lottery shop manager gave him a slip of paper with some numbers. He looked at a TV screen seriously while simultaneously checking the slip of paper. Unfortunately, he did not win. He bought two more tickets but the result was the same.

This was my first experience with a lottery. I also bought some lottery tickets. I never won. I now have no interest in lotteries (2016).

[112/147] ON LOOKOUT. In primary school, a child kept lookout for teachers as other students played, sang, danced, and so on in our classroom when teachers were absent. Once a teacher caught me, I timidly said nothing and looked down (2016).

स्या (४०१६)

[113/148] GARBAGE BIN. I dropped litter in the garbage bin. When I was in primary school, I did not realize that garbage destroyed our environment. Family elders told me, "Don't pick flowers. If you do, you won't grow tall." They also said, "Don't go near the source of rivers. If you do, you will become disabled," so I was afraid to do those things. I didn't think about their real purpose. I now understand that they were protecting the environment. I also realized that this is a good way to educate children (2016).

[114/149] TWO WORLDS. Pinocchio's Father sold his coat and bought a schoolbook for his son, who sold it for a theater ticket. What the little puppet did was wrong. The little puppet's father said, "Lies have short legs and long noses." That is worth remembering. We cannot outrun the truth. The positive consequences of truth greatly outweigh the negative (2016).

[115/150] SCRUBBING. One friend said, "We don't need to care about garbage. If we throw garbage, here and there, more garbage collectors can earn more money" (2016).

[116/151] SELLING PEACHES. This man sells peaches near my apartment (2016).
নিমান্ত নেইন্দেন্ট্র ক্রেন্ট্রিন্ বিষ্ণান্ত বিষ্ণান্ত বিষ্ণান্ত নিমান্ত ন

[117/152] HOME FOR LUNCH. A woman hurries home for lunch (2016).

[118/153] A CLEANER. I saw her using a stick to pick up leaves in the water (2106). प्राह्म प्राह्म प्राह्म प्राह्म प्राहम प्रा

[119/154] RESTING. Is there a particular place to rest? My schoolmates in Xi'an City explained what eyeshades were and how it was important to cover your eyes in order to rest well. In my home community, herders sleep even when there is a heavy storm outside their tent. If I told Mother, "I can't sleep, because there is too much light," she would scold me (2016).

[120/155] SETTING SUN (2016).

[121/156] PITCHING TENTS IN XI'AN CITY. It is rare to see a tent in a Chinese city so when I saw these tents, I was eager to go inside and have a look. Three men were having a meal. I asked, "Where are you from? What are you doing here?"

One answered, "We are from Sichuan. We are working here for several months. We stopped work these days because, the pollution is terrible."

They were very friendly and even offered me some of their food. I had already eaten supper so I said, "No, thanks!" (2016).

[122/157] [158] [159] ON THE TRAIN. I never experienced riding on a train until I travelled to Xi'an City. Before that time, I imagined a train to be a wonderful something that took many passengers over long distances in a short time and provided great comfort. The reality was different. We often imagine what we hope for. When I first took a train from Zi ling to Xi'an, I saw things I had never seen before. Some parents told their children to sleep under the seats. Other passengers slept with nothing between their bodies and the floor.

I also noticed several old farmers with liquor in Sprite bottles. I smelled it. I wondered why, and guessed it was because the plastic Sprite bottle would not break. Later, when train security guards were looking for passengers who were drinking liquor on the train, I realized the Sprite bottles were a way of hiding the liquor (2016).

[123/160] A COUPLE. Companions who care for and love us are important so we don't feel lonely. The most important thing is that why we care about each other. I don't have many friends. I don't want to make many friends, because it is very hard to support long-lasting relationships (2016).

[124/161] [162] [163] [164] WAITING. This woman was selling persimmons and vegetables. Her face and hair told me she was old. "Where are you children? What are they doing?" I asked.

She answered, "I have three daughters. They all married and left," and explained that her persimmons were a special Shaanxi product. She didn't tell me more about her children. I wondered why her daughters didn't take care of her (2016).

[125/165 A MAN TALKS TO A LITTLE BOY. If you talked to a child you did not know, what would you say? I was surprised when I was a child and elders asked me questions, teased me, and laughed. Sometimes, I got angry and threw stones and dirt at them. They were not angry. They laughed. This taught me to be tolerant. Some of them have passed away, but I will not forget them (2017).

[126/166] FATHER AND SON. "No husband, no meat," is a local Tibetan proverb. When I first came to Xi'an City, I watched Chinese TV variety shows such as *Feichangwurao*. A friend recommended it as a way to improve my Chinese.

About twenty women waited for a man. During their exchanges, the women asked such questions as, "Do you have grandparents? Who cares for them? What is your job? How much do you earn monthly?"

I thought they were weird questions. I wondered, "If I tell my locals about this, how would they react?" (2016).

[127/167] MOTHER AND SON. Change is constant. When we realize something, it may have already disappeared (2016).

[128/168] A MOTORCYCLE, A TRICYCLE, AND THEIR DRIVERS. In Xi'an City, there are many locals who use their motorcycles and tricycles to transport others. Some districts such as Qujiang and Gaoxin have many wealthy people and such drivers are forbidden to operate there. They think such operations harm their image (2016).

[129/169] AN OLD MAN ON AN OLD BICYCLE. (2017).

[130/170] EMPTY PRAM. I don't know this old man, I never talked with him, but I saw him many times as I was walking to the gym and when I was returning to my apartment. Sometimes he was directing traffic. He was ignored. Many people watched him and laughed at him. He continued his efforts and didn't care much about others. He was different from other old people that I met in Xi'an City. Some elders near my apartment sat on chairs or in stairs, talking about something unimportant. Sometimes when my friends and I crossed near where they sat, they looked at us and murmured because we were different. Sometimes they asked where I was from and so on. I didn't answer, but sometimes I said I was from Bhutan. I never told them the truth. I am not sure why I didn't answer honestly (2016).

[131/171] TRUTH. Urban-renewal projects may be impressively clean. Xi'an is an example of a rebuilt, developed city. On the other hand, many city streets feature beggars and aged people. I never ask, "How old are you?" Instead, I ask, "Where are your children and what are they doing?" (2016).

[132/172] A YOUNG LADY PUSHES A WHEELCHAIR. Everybody needs help at some time in their life. There was once an old woman in a rural area. Locals disdained her. She had a difficult life. She vividly recalled what she did when she was young. Her relatives, except for her nephew, Rdo rje, disliked her. When Rdo rje was a child, she scolded and beat him, but Rdo rje still loved her and forgave her.

When she was young, she never thought that she would need help from anyone. She was young, healthy, wealthy, and beautiful. She thought she was the most beautiful and wealthiest woman in the world.

Twenty-five years later, her parents were dead. She married and divorced three times. With no husband and no children, she was lonely in her big house. Sometimes, Rdo rje visited, but not often. Her knees ached and she could not walk easily. She needed to fetch water from far away. One winter day, she went to fetch water. Snow covered the ground and some snow fell. After she filled her container with water, she tripped on a stone. Her water container broke and water splashed everywhere. Her right knee was very painful. A bit later, her knee became very swollen.

Fortunately, when she got home, Rdo rje was there and helped her. He went to the township town and asked a doctor to come see his aunt. The doctor at first refused but, after

many entreaties, he agreed to come. Rdo rje carried the doctor's medical gear. They walked for about two and a half hours. The doctor gave medicine to Rdo rje's aunt. Rdo rje paid the doctor thirty RMB and escorted him back to the township town.

His aunt's knee became increasingly swollen and painful. A few years later, Rdo rje was married with two children. His wife was ill and he cared for their children so there was no time to visit his aunt.

One cold winter morning, there was heavy snow. It was very quiet. A flock of sparrows flew around Rdo rje's aunt's house. Nobody disturbed the sparrows for a whole day. The snow stopped falling, but the snow did not melt because it was very cold and the sun did not come out.

The second day, the aunt's neighbor walked by the aunt's courtyard gate. It was unlocked, but there were no footsteps. He thought, "Something is not right," but he continued walking to the local monastery. He still thought about his neighbor's gate.

At noon, the neighbor walked back and checked the gate. It remained unlocked and there were still no footprints. He thought "Something's wrong," and called to the aunt three times and knocked on the gate.

There was no response.

He pushed the gate open. When he entered the house, he thought, "Nobody is here." After a few seconds he realized the aunt was lying on an old torn sheep-skin (2016).

[133/173] PASSERSBY. Sometimes I photograph passersby, though I know nothing about them. I have various thoughts afterward. I observe noses, clothing, ways of walking, and so on. Sometimes I want to laugh and sometimes I feel very differently, but these observations always make me think about myself (2016).

[134/174] AN OLD MAN AND A GIRL. In my culture, it is unthinkable that girls would wear shorts in public. When I first came to Xi'an City, it was summer and many women wore few clothes. I found it different and unacceptable. After my first semester at university, I felt it was normal, but still it was not completely OK. Now, I feel women wearing shorts is fine. I have automatically accepted it. I surprise myself. It is the power of environment (2016).

[135/175] MEN PLAY CHESS. Many local, old Tibetan men enjoyed playing Tibetan chess. They spent the whole night sometimes to see who would win. They enjoyed chess at a time when there were no phones and no television (2016).

[136/176] AN OLD LADY FOLDING PAPER BOXES. After I took this photo, I recalled an old woman collecting wet yak dung and putting it on walls to dry and later use for fuel (2016).

[137/177] BEHIND THE WALL. (2016). অন্ত্রিপ্লেশ্ ক্রেল্ডি বিংগ্রেম [138/178] FOOD DELIVERY, MAN, AND A READER. In 2016, the number of food delivery people dramatically increased and many students and office workers rarely went outside to eat (2016).

[139/179] CURTAIN CLEANING. When I was a child, youth in my home community thought a city was a wonderful, clean, and tidy place. Now, ideas are changing. When I was child, I dreamed of living in a city. Now, after having lived in Xi'an City for three and a half years, I don't think cities are magnificent. There is a lot of pollution. Beggars and street cleaners are generally old people. I asked one old lady, "Where are your children?" She replied, "I have three daughters. They married and left me. I now sell vegetables that I grow" (2016).

[140/180] POODLE AND MAN. Locals in my home community spend a lot on racehorses. In contrast, Xi'an City locals are keen on dogs and pay a great deal for some dogs. One evening, a friend and I were eating noodles in a restaurant. We read a notice: "If you find my dog, I'll give you 10,000 RMB," followed by a description of a small, weak dog and a photograph (2016).

[141/181] COMPLEXITY. Life is complex. It is often tangled, with both joy and sadness (2016). किंद के किंदी के किंदी के किंदी के किंदी के किंदी के किंदी किं

[142/182] BOTTLE COLLECTOR. He said, "I didn't finish high school. I worked here for two and half years." He is a friend and the chattiest Chinese person I have met in Xi'an City. He talks with a shy, approachable smile. He has his own lorry and often collects bottles from elders in the evenings. Sometimes, he said, "Keep the change," to his customers (2016).

[143/183] GUTTER OIL. I thought all oil was new until I learned about recycled oil while at Xi'an International Studies University (2016).

[144/184] TRIBULATION. Tribulation and joy characterize our lives. Observing this woman's spirit of independence and hard work gives me confidence that she will succeed (2016).

[145/185] TWO WORKERS. End and then continue working. We will survive and be properly happy (2016).

[146/186] LIVELINESS. Occasionally, people don't enjoy something when they could (2016). में [पर्इंक् में रहा में व्या क्री व

[147/187] AN OLD BARBER. His right or left leg was not very strong. I don't remember which one. I admired him for working very hard and only charging each customer five *yuan* per haircut. A small blackboard hung from an old tree, under which he cut hair. It announced the price of a haircut and listed his phone number (2016).

[148/188] WALKING FORWARD. One night, I and some friends finished "True Grit" and were going back to our apartment. We discussed the film. This is an unclear photo. I generally dislike unclear photos, but sometime they are more interesting than clear photos (2016).

[149/189] BROKEN WORLD. I try to demonstrate reality in my photos. I hope that when I am no longer in this world, these images will tell you something about what you sincerely want to know (2016).

[150/190] [191] A UYGHUR BOY WITH BAKED BREAD. This little boy reminded me of myself when I was a child. I rarely wore new clothes. When we got new clothes, we were so excited that we couldn't sleep that night (2016).

[151/192] A CAR. Before I came to Xi'an City, I didn't believe cars produced pollution, although I didn't think much about it. After some days in Xi'an, I realized that it was true. I am now less interested in cars. When I was at home, I thought if I could drive a car, others would admire me. While I do like cars and like to drive them, we should consider the consequences (2016).

[152/193] A WORKER, AND A MOTHER AND HER DAUGHTER. What is a father's responsibility? What is a mother's responsibility? What do you think their children's future will be? (2018).

[153/194] A CLEANER HAS LUNCH UNDER A BRIDGE ON A SNOWY DAY (2017).

[154/195] A CLEANER. People have a better ability to succeed than other creatures, but they are often not happy. Can people get things that they want? The answer is YES. And there is another question, "Are they happy?" The answer is NO. What is happiness? People need money, but when they get a lot of money, they think about something else. Rich or poor, you need happiness. Are you happy? Why? (2016).

[155/196] TWO LITTLE GIRLS. (2017).

[156/197] GOING ALONE. I took this photo at Shaanxi Normal University. I often saw students crossing this road, but this time I only saw one. Studying alone saves time and allows you to focus on your study. You can choose a time for human companionship, which we all need (2016).

[157/198] A WALL. I went on this wall with my friends and took this picture. People were happy, enjoying themselves on this enormous wall. Though horrible pollution enveloped us, they ignored it (2016).

[158/199] A LITTLE BOY BY A SHOP DOOR. Children have few pressures (2016).

[159/200] FOOD DELIVERY. Heavy snow brought difficulties for food delivery in cities. Snow also brings trouble to herders in my home community. When I first came to Xi'an City, there were no food deliverers. In 2017, food delivery was increasingly popular. When I was in a restaurant, I heard a conversation between a food deliverer and a manager. The manager said, "I haven't seen your younger brother today. Is he OK?"

The food deliverer replied, "He played phone games last night and this morning when I left, he was still in bed" (2017).

[160/201] PRECIOUS MASTERPIECE. This old man sells the most precious masterpiece in the world (2016).

XI'AN CITY ANIMALS

[161/203] A DUCK. Looking for food to survive (2016).

[162/204] BIG DOG EARS. Why are you telling such things to others? (2016)

[163/205] HOMELESS DOG. After I graduated from Xi'an International Studies University, I rented an apartment with some friends. One day I was returning from the gym. I saw a dog chained in a dirty, small box near my apartment. It looked very hungry and thirsty. I went to my apartment, and brought some food and a bowl of water for the dog. It ate the food and drank the water immediately.

A few weeks later, I again took food to the dog. This time, a man in his thirties wearing a uniform demanded angrily, "What are you doing?"

"Giving some food to this dog. Is something wrong?" I replied.

"This dog is mine. Don't give him food. I am afraid he will follow you," he answered with a very red face.

"If you want to give me this dog, I don't want it. I gave it food because it is hungry. It's wrong for you not to feed your dog and give it water. You should responsibly take care of your dog," I said (2016).

[164/206] A DOG. This dog looked hungry and thirsty so I and a friend gave it some food. The dog gobbled the food and then a man shouted at us in Shaanxi dialect. He was in his forties and the gatekeeper. He was wearing a police uniform. He said, "Don't give food to my dog, I am afraid that the dog will follow you ... " and continued scolding us.

I was a bit angry, but answered, "We just gave the dog some food. We have no other purpose."

When we left, the dog, it looked at us and vigorously wagged its tail in delight, hoping for more food (2016).

[165/207] TWO PIGEONS. In my home community, pigeons symbolize peace. Pictures of a white pigeon are made and who take one promise to not fight in their communities. Father gave a picture of a white pigeon to my oldest brother. At that time, I asked, "Can I have one?"

He said, "No, not yet."

I didn't understand. Locals understand that conflict in our communities is bad and try to stop young people from fighting (2016).

[166/208] BARKING DOG. Barking dogs disturb neighbors in the city. In my home community, barking dogs protect their masters from wolves and thieves (2016).

XI'AN CITY ARCHITECTURE

[168/211] REFLECTION. I and my friends were on the way to Rgyal bstan shes rig dar rgyas gling (Guangren) Temple. The pollution was horrible. We each wore a face mask. My friends admire me because I am living in a big city. They think that the trees are green in winter, there are many fancy cars, and many huge, tall buildings. What they think is not wrong, but they don't

imagine the terrible pollution. When I first came to Xi'an City, I thought, it was a great place to live. I dreamed that one day, all my family would move to Xi'an City. After several months in Xi'an City, I thought very differently (2016).

[169/212] CONSTRUCTION AND FLAGS. When I go to the gym, I see this building under construction. In my home area, locals often build temples. The bigger the temple, the better their reputation (2016).

[170/213] RENEWAL. At the time I took this picture, the bottom floor apartment was still inhabited (2016).

[171/214] OPEN THE DOOR. We can see many things that we need in our life (2016).

[172/215] HORSEMAN AND MUSIC. Today, we listen to music on mobile phones and so on. When I was young, there were no such things. We sang. Today, we don't try to sing. This is why most people have forgotten songs, proverbs, and so on. I also have forgotten many songs, but not because I listen to music on machines (2016).¹¹

[173/216] TWO LOCKS. There are many taboos in my culture, for instance, not killing animals for fun and not hurting others (2016).

[174/217] POLLUTION. Every winter in Xi'an City, there was serious pollution. It only got worse. Before I came to Xi'an City I thought, "Going to a big city is my dream." What I imagined was utterly different from the reality of the Big City (2016).

XI'AN CITY STREETS

[175/219] MAO ZEDONG IMAGE. How much is it? (2016).

[176/220] ANTIQUITIES. Why do you think antiquities are valuable? Why do you think they are not valuable? This interests me. Many like antiquities that are more than one hundred years old, but they have different ideas about the value of antiquities. I'm still thinking about this (2016).

¹¹ Mother told me this during the time we were on a pilgrimage to Khron zhing (old name of Khron zhing chen, Rnga ba, Khro chu rdzong County) Rnga ba County, Rnga ba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province.

[177/221] REALITY AND IMAGINATION. We imagine and what we imagine is related to reality. But at times, our imagination is completely different from reality. Most people in my home community imagine that if they send their children to school then, a few years later, the children will be great scholars. The result is often totally different. Many young, intelligent adults have nothing to do after graduating from college. They often go to teahouses, bars, play billiards, gamble, and watch others gamble. Most do not think they are wasting their time or not helping their future. Some parents have decided to stop sending their children to school. They don't want to spend a lot of money on something that is not helping them. This is true even if their family can afford to send their children to school (2016).

[178/222] LITTLE SHOES. When I was child, I was often barefoot. Once when I was eight years old, my family was in the summer pasture. A niece who is one year older than me, went to our neighbor's home and played. The children butted their heads together. The one who moved forward was the winner. My niece was barefoot. Suddenly she cried. A small yak bone was in her right foot near the heel. Others tried to help by removing the bone, but it was painful and she wouldn't let them do it. Finally, one of their family members carried her back home.

Her father laughed and said, "The baby vulture easily breaks its feet," suggesting children should not be naughty. He understood his daughter's injury was minor (2016).

[179/223] DRYING CLOTHES. Why do people think about underwear differently than other clothes? What is the difference between a pair of underwear and a jacket? What is your personal idea about underwear and bras? I didn't see any underwear and bras until I was thirteen. It is unusual to see underwear in public places in my home community. Most local elders are very embarrassed if they see underwear in a public place. When my mother's generation was young, they never wore underwear. In my home community, mothers nurse their children in public. It is not considered shameful nor disrespectful to anyone (2016).

[180/224] SHINING LIGHT. Electrical wires are often tangled, resembling the lives of ordinary people. Their lives are often messy, difficult, and confused (2016).

[181/225] DON'T CRY. It is imposable to keep a balance between joy and sorrow (2016).

[181/225] DON'T CRY. It is imposable to keep a balance between joy and sorrow (2016).

[182/226] SOFA AT REST. Many people who seem to care about you, actually need you just like some people needed and used this sofa. They will use you to rest and when they finish with you, they abandon you even if there is heavy rain and stormy weather (2016).

[183/227] A KITE. Important things, such as this kite, shouldn't be expensive. A little boy was playing with it and an old man was helping him. This reminded me of something that happened when I was seven years old. My niece, Dpal ldan skyid, and I flew our kites with Father's help. It was our first time to experience a kite. It was made from plastic, some thin wood pieces, and a long string. It was cheap and simple, but gave us so much fun that we forgot where we were. When our kites broke, Father fixed them (2016).

[184/228] DISTANCE. A proverb suggests that everyone has weaknesses, which are best not to reveal to others. Father said, "Don't let other people know everything about yourself. We should maintain a distance between ourselves and others. Two people can never be one person" (2016).

[185/229] FAKE MODELS. Sometimes, people don't care much about each other when they are doing something unpleasant. They just ignore them (2016).

FLOWERS

[186/231] SIX FLOWERPOTS. When I was six years old, I didn't know how to count. One day I and my niece, Dpal ldan skyid, who is one year older than me, went to trade dry cheese for oranges and apples. We could not count money so my parents did not give us money. We also did not ask them for money. We stole some cheese from our family.

A seller sold fruit near the monastery. We gave a small bag of cheese to her and said, "We want some oranges and apples."

She said, "How many kilos of cheese do you have?"

We looked at our shoes and didn't answer.

She used an old Chinese measure and then told us how many half-kilos we had. We did not understand and just waited for her to give us some oranges and apples, which we happily took home in our robe pouches (2016).

TIBETAN TERMS

'bring mda' ব্রহ অব্ 'jam dbyangs skyabs ব্রুঝ'নুরুর্ঝ'য়ৣৢৢৢৢৢৢৢৢয়ৢ৻ 'jam skyid व्हर्याञ्चेत् 'jigs med sgrol mo বইন্মানীস্'ৰ্ম্বীবাৰা 'od skyid र्देन् क्रिन bar bzhi ন্ম:ন্ট bkra dbang নশ্ৰ bkra shis ন্ম্ৰাঞ্জি bla ma ব্লুখা bla rung sgar ङ्ग-रू-रङ्ग-र bsang mchod সমহ মার্ক্ট্র bsod dar নর্মন্ bsod mtsho নর্মান্ মার্ক্রা byang chub rnam rgyal जुन्रः हुन् । कुन्रः हुन् । कुन्रः हुन्य byang chub sgrol ma সুনস্কুন শ্লুঁ অব্য dbo skyid ১র্ন-শ্লী dbyar gnas ব্রুহ-গ্র dkon mchog rgya mtsho নুৰ্গ্ৰিক আইন don skyid र्नेन् श्चेन dpal ldan skyid न्यवासून स्नेन dpal lha sgrol ব্নঅভ্নার্থ্রীঅ dpal yul न्नवाधुवा g.yang phyug ग्रायमः सुन g.yang res न्यापन देश gcig sgril ग्रेन्स् gdugs dkar শ্রশ্মান্ ge sar ने अर

glu shags মুক্স্ম gser khrab গ্ৰথ্ম-ছ্ৰন gu ru skyabs গু:মুন্ম gzhon nu नर्बिन नु jo nang ई द khang sar 🎮 🛪 🛪 kirti नेहे lha dkar sgrol ma क्ष्यूनग्रस् lha las mtsho শ্রুন্থেম্যমার্ক্ট lha lcam mtsho बुःबुसःसर्के lha sa মুখ্য lo sar ঐ শ্বন্ ma chen बाळेन mchog bzang ঝর্ক্স্বানরর mgo log মর্নী ম্বান mtha' ba মহন্দ mtshams ras মর্ক্রমশ্বম mtsho sngon मर्के र्श्वेन mying li हीन थे। nor pe र्हें र से pad sgron ন্ৰ-্য্ৰুন্ pan chen bla ma यदा छेदा हु। य pan ril skyid न्द्र देवा श्रुह phur ba শুমান phyogs las rnam rgyal ৰ্ট্ৰন্ম অমাৰ্মা ক্ৰুথ rab brtan মনান্দ্ৰ

rdo ra can क्रॅंच उठ्या rgyal bstan shes rig dar rgyas gling क्रुव्य च्यूच के अपने प्रांत sho देन क्रिंच rin chen mtsho देन क्रेन्च अर्छे। rma chu क्रुव्य rmga ba क्र्या rmying ma क्रेन्च आ rtse pe क्रुव्ये। rwa rgya द्रक्षा sangs rgyas bzang bo अह्ह्य क्रुव्यव्येव्या shes rab chos 'phel क्रियाद्य क्रियाद्वय क्रुव्या shes rab rnam rgyal क्रियाद्वय क्रुव्या

shes rab sgrol ma প্রান্তর্জ্ব বিষয় sku 'bum শ্লু'বর্জা smon lam chen mo শ্লুর'ব্যক্ষ কর্ শ্লা snang gsal rgya mtsho শ্লুন'ব্যক্ষ ক্রের্জা sog ru ma শ্লা'র'ঝা stag lung শূলা'র্ড্ডনা TA re sgron বু'ই'শ্লুরা thub mchog র্ন'ফার্ক্ডলা tshe brtan ক্র'ন্ড্ররা tshe dbang skyid ক্র'ন্তর্জ্বা tshe ring mgon po ক্র'ইন'মার্লির শ্লা ye shes bzang bo অপ্রথমনেরন'র্মা zi ling শ্লিন্তা

CHINESE TERMS

Aba 阿坝 Chengdu 成都 Feichangwurao 非常勿扰 Guangren 广仁 Guoluo 果洛 Huangzhong 湟中 Jiuzhi 久治 Kangsai 康赛

Lajia 拉加 Larong 喇荣 Mao Zedong 毛泽东 Maqu 玛曲 Qinghai 青海 Sichuan 四川 Ta'er 塔尔 Xi'an 西安